CMP-SPRCM-76-4

SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

US
AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL
HONG KONG, B.C.C.

FEBRUARY 1976

U.I.C.C.
APR 14 1976
LIBRARY

DISTRIBUTED BY:

NTIS
National Technical Information Service
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

KEEP UP TO DATE

Between the time you ordered this report—which is only one of the hundreds of thousands in the NTIS information collection available to you—and the time you are reading this message, several *new* reports relevant to your interests probably have entered the collection.

Subscribe to the **Weekly Government Abstracts** series that will bring you summaries of new reports *as soon as they are received by NTIS* from the originators of the research. The WGA's are an NTIS weekly newsletter service covering the most recent research findings in 25 areas of industrial, technological, and sociological interest—invaluable information for executives and professionals who must keep up to date.

The executive and professional information service provided by NTIS in the **Weekly Government Abstracts** newsletters will give you thorough and comprehensive coverage of government-conducted or sponsored research activities. And you'll get this important information within two weeks of the time it's released by originating agencies.

WGA newsletters are computer produced and electronically photocomposed to slash the time gap between the release of a report and its availability. You can learn about technical innovations immediately—and use them in the most meaningful and productive ways possible for your organization. Please request NTIS-PR-205/PCW for more information.

The weekly newsletter series will keep you current. But *learn what you have missed in the past* by ordering a computer **NTISearch** of all the research reports in your area of interest, dating as far back as 1964, if you wish. Please request NTIS-PR-186/PCN for more information.

WRITE: Managing Editor
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161

Keep Up To Date With SRIM

SRIM (Selected Research in Microfiche) provides you with regular, automatic distribution of the complete texts of NTIS research reports *only* in the subject areas you select. SRIM covers almost all Government research reports by subject area and/or the originating Federal or local government agency. You may subscribe by any category or subcategory of our WGA **(Weekly Government Abstracts)** or **Government Reports Announcements and Index** categories, or to the reports issued by a particular agency such as the Department of Defense, Federal Energy Administration, or Environmental Protection Agency. Other options that will give you greater selectivity are available on request.

The cost of SRIM service is only 45¢ domestic (60¢ foreign) for each complete microfiched report. Your SRIM service begins as soon as your order is received and processed and you will receive biweekly shipments thereafter. If you wish, your service will be backdated to furnish you microfiche of reports issued earlier.

Because of contractual arrangements with several Special Technology Groups, not all NTIS reports are distributed in the SRIM program. You will receive a notice in your microfiche shipments identifying the exceptionally priced reports not available through SRIM.

A deposit account with NTIS is required before this service can be initiated. If you have specific questions concerning this service, please call (703) 451-1558, or write NTIS, attention SRIM Product Manager.

This information product distributed by

NTIS U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, Virginia 22161

CMP-SPRCM-76-4

中华人民共和国杂誌选译

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 858
February 17, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study & Criticism/)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Brings Out My Revolutionary Youthfulness - by Ku Ch'ao-hao 1

Historical Experience Merits Attention - by Fang Hai 7

Revolution Can Change Everything - Studying Chairman Mao's two poems - by Tu Hua-chang 11

Learn from Comrade K'ang Sheng's Spirit of Continuing the Revolution - by T'ang Wen 17

Water Margin and "Literature for National Defense" - by Hung Hsüan 23

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Reproduced by
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
US Department of Commerce
Springfield, VA. 22151

Page

Song of Triumph for Unity in Battle - by Wu Yün-hsiang 29

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/)

Ch'i Chi-kuang's Thought of Running the Army - by Hung Ch'eng 36

Recall the Revolutionary Deeds of the Central Red Army in Southern Szechwan During the Long March - by I Chün 50

TABLE OF CONTENTS: Study & Criticism, No. 12
December 14, 1975 59

Li-shih Yen-chiu, No. 5
October 20, 1975 62

* * *

C O R R E C T I O N

"Fighting groups should be organized" in SPRCM No. 856, page 13, last line, should read "fighting groups should not be organized."

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Brings Out My Revolutionary Youthfulness

by

Ku Ch'ao-hao (谷超豪)
Professor of Mathematics, Futan University

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 1, January 14, 1976)

The recent farrago in educational circles, identified with the right-deviationist wind of reversing previous verdicts, avers that the great proletarian cultural revolution rejected and struck at the intellectuals, with the result that "intellectuals have lost their initiative." This is purely rumor-mongering. I have worked in the university since the nationwide liberation. Comparing the 17 years prior to the great cultural revolution with the past nine years, I deeply feel that it is exactly the revisionist line on education that has done harm to us intellectuals. The great proletarian cultural revolution initially transformed an intellectual like myself, who received bourgeois education for a long period of time, and brought out my revolutionary youthfulness. I want to use my own personal experience to refute the fallacy that has alienated the relations between the intellectuals and the Party and contribute my bit toward consolidating and developing the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Lenin once said: "During a revolutionary period tens of millions of people learn more things in a week than they normally would have learned in a year of confused life." Facts are exactly so. The education I received during the great proletarian cultural revolution was far greater than that I received in the past decades.

Although I joined the Communist Party before liberation, because I received a capitalist education, my world outlook remained basically bourgeois in nature. After the whole country was liberated I was concerned only with calculus without bothering about orientation and line. I won the recognition of those who adhered to the revisionist line and they sent me abroad for "advance studies." Armed with a "doctorate" upon my return, I became seriously divorced from the workers and peasants, from labor and practice. I applied myself to becoming a bourgeois "academician," that is, an intellectual aristocrat lording it over the people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution was launched. Under the working-class leadership, the vast numbers of revolutionary teachers and students shattered the domination of schools by the revisionist line. Soon afterward, led by the master workers of the workers propaganda team, together with the revolutionary teachers and students of the Department of Mathematics, I took part in farm work in suburban Lotien commune on several occasions and was re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Prior to the great cultural revolution, I never performed labor in the countryside, nor was I able to distinguish one cereal from another. Once

I was in the rural areas I began to display all my weaknesses, such as falling far behind in cutting rice or moving on unsteadily when I was carrying even a very light load. Ideologically, I fared even worse. In a heavy and sudden downpour on one occasion, all the poor and lower-middle peasants hurried to the sunning ground and exerted their utmost in keeping piles of wheat under cover. Although they were soaked to the skin when it was pouring, they kept battling bravely until all the collective property was safe. On another occasion, a neighboring village was ablaze. A master workman of the workers propaganda team who performed labor with us at once rushed to the scene of fire and climbed up the most dangerous rooftop at the risk of his own life. Thanks to his brave action the raging fire was finally put out. How noble the mental outlook of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants! As to myself, my goal was to be a bourgeois academician. Since I had set my mind upon this goal, I began to drift farther from the countryside. In the six or seven years since my return from abroad up to my participation in the "four clean-up" movement, I never set foot in the countryside for farm work, and all I did was just to perform sundry labor in the school for about a dozen days in all. The more I shunned physical labor, the more I was afraid of performing labor. Those who pursued the revisionist line described me as an exemplary "revolutionized" teacher. I was very pleased with the compliment and went about publicizing my "maturing" process. This did harm not only to myself but also to young people. Having performed labor in the countryside numerous times and received re-education from the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, I began to find out why previously my world outlook was geared to the revisionist line. This made me bitterly resent the crimes of the revisionist line in bringing harm to the intellectuals. Haven't some people accused the great cultural revolution of having undermined the enthusiasm of the intellectuals? In fact, we should make a class analysis of what constitutes activism. I was quite active before, but this exertion of energy was channeled toward gaining fame and attaining proficiency for myself only, being far too despicable and insignificant compared with the revolutionary enthusiasm displayed by the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Only by firmly doing away with individualistic activism can one display the enthusiasm for integrating with the workers and peasants and taking the socialist road. I am determined to learn from the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants as a pupil for the rest of my life. I went astray before. From now on I will exert my utmost and strive to do more useful things for the Party.

The leadership understood quite well my frame of mind so they assigned me to tackle a certain project after I had raised my ideological understanding. This assignment would permit me to remold my old thinking in practice and give more scope to my professional training.

An important lesson I learned from my past mistakes was my failure to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings. This caused me to be disoriented politically and obsessed with idealist and metaphysical stuff in work. To advance, I must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought as a weapon to attack idealist and metaphysical

notions and to eliminate their influence on myself in struggle. In the past years I have seriously studied Chairman Mao's philosophical essays such as "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," and studied most sections of books like Anti-Dühring, Dialectics of Nature, Materialism and Empiro-Criticism and Mathematical Manuscripts by Marx. Using dialectical materialism as the guiding thought, I studied the history of the development of calculus and differential equation. I clearly realized that the theory of mathematics, like other theories, could only be derived from practice and verified in practice. However, the revisionist viewpoint of belittling practice remained deep-seated in my mind and among the mathematical circles. As Lenin rightly pointed out, mathematicians forgot matter and this was a cause of idealism in "physics." In my article "Mathematical Idealism Must Be Criticized" published in the journal Dialectics of Nature, I was critical of some past and prevailing tendencies in which theory was divorced from practice. The article in question also purged my mind of the idealist viewpoint. In the past I viewed and assessed the study of mathematics on the basis of the test questions, depending whether or not they were difficult to tackle and whether ingenious or even sensational solutions could be offered to determine the findings. All this tended to emphasize so-called theory to the neglect of practical experience and verifications through practice. If this idealist viewpoint was not discarded, it would be impossible to advance with big strides. I was able to write that article largely because of the impetus given by the revolution in education. In the past years both the teachers and students of the Department of Mathematics have gone deep into reality, conducted extensive investigation and study, and gained considerable results. When the Department of Mathematics was dominated by the revisionist line, it will be recalled, teaching, learning and scientific research were all confined to the theoretical study of pure mathematics, having nothing to do with the searing realities of the three great revolutionary struggles. Comparing the present with the past, the changes that have occurred in the Department of Mathematics serve as a forceful rebuttal to the farrago that has prevailed in educational circles.

With the guiding ideas in focus, work proceeds along the correct course. After the great cultural revolution I devoted considerable efforts to the study of the mathematical questions that arose from the struggle for production and scientific experiment -- in this way permitting theory to serve practice and verifying and developing theory through practice. When I learned that a certain scientific research project was in need of solving related mathematical problems, I ran a short-term training course for a relevant unit with the help of several comrades. Apart from explaining some basic principles to the class, the latest achievements in foreign countries were also included in classroom instruction. In terms of the project's requirements, we also attempted to find out certain para-differential equations. Instead of making a theoretical analysis of these equations, we focused our attention mainly on the selection of effective computation formulas. Since mathematics is largely concerned with the solution of problems by means of figures, it sounds amusing that a professor of mathematics like myself never in the past computed figures with the help of a calculator. To cope with the requirements of our project, I started from the very beginning by learning every aspect of a

computer's operations -- from programming, punching, correcting to feeding the calculator. Because quite big figures were involved, calculation sometimes took the whole night though sometimes the calculator was used after midnight. At the end of a period of endeavor, we finally succeeded in solving a number of relatively difficult problems, some data which previously had not been figured out in China but now found practical application. Prior to the great cultural revolution, I wrote 50-odd mathematical papers under the sway of the revisionist line, but none of them was found practical in application. For instance, I spent two to three years on the study of the question of "installing" one type of geometric space to another, besides having written a number of papers on this subject. Why I chose to take up this subject and what was its immediate significance, I was totally at a loss to explain. But now, after participating in collective labor, I am able to pass on useful data to the technicians. I feel immensely happy for being able to contribute my bit toward modernizing science and technology.

In my contact with factory technicians, I have noticed that many of them have energetically taken the road of integrating with the workers and peasants, and that some of them have invented and created something. This has provided me with considerable education. For instance, Comrade Ch'en Hui-po, a young technician of Taiyuan Heavy Machinery Works, graduated from a university after liberation. He was bitter about the poor quality of the machines imported from or modelled after those of Soviet revisionism and other countries for adjusting the alignment of seamless steel tubes, the enormous amount of waste incurred and their adverse effects on some key projects. Disregarding obstructions and mockeries and with the backing of the worker-comrades, he broke down the conventions of Soviet revisionist authorities and evolved new formulas which were subsequently tested at the Shanghai No. 5 Iron and Steel Mill. When I visited the mill, I heard him explain his innovation. I was particularly moved when his innovative idea had the unreserved support of the master workers. To help him solve certain mathematical problems and verify his proposed set of formulas, I applied a different method of calculation to justify his mathematical findings. In that evening and through the night I completed the programming and fed the punched data to the computer. The result obtained was in full accord with his calculation. When testing was in process, it was found that his calculation findings lacked sufficient data to meet the processing requirements in Shanghai. To help surmount this difficulty, I introduced some modifications in the tape and worked out the required data processing figures.

We advocate integrating theory with practice and making mathematics serve the three great revolutionary movements for the explicit purpose of bringing into play the guiding role of theory over practice. It is altogether a fabrication for some people to say that education in the past years has "ignored theory." Marxism has never disavowed the function of basic theory in natural science and Marx himself was once engaged in the study of calculus. The question lies in the guidance of what world outlook and for what goal theoretical study is undertaken. Academic and theoretical study prior to the great cultural revolution was completely dissociated from the guidance of dialectical materialism. What was in

vogue then was that "Marx cannot guide X." Some people not only dared not touch those works that revealed apparent errors in philosophy but followed them even more closely. For instance, in the sphere of astrophysics some people abroad came up with such fallacies as the finity and eventual destruction of the universe before the hypotheses regarding the universe as a whole were partially confirmed. Should our basic theoretical study follow such a direction? Of course, we should study problems relating to astrophysics but this study must be undertaken under the guidance of Marxism and in the service of proletarian politics. In 1972 I understood that the "black hole" theory prevailed abroad, with predictions that celestial bodies in the universe possessing powerful gravitational pull could absorb even light. This hypothesis about a partial and transitory phenomenon could naturally be probed in an analytical way. But some people hastily conceived it as a cosmic principle and predicted that the end of the universe would mean its destruction by the black hole. This was in fact a reflection of the decline and decadence of the bourgeoisie. This way of putting things should, in my view, be criticized in philosophy and its absurdity analyzed in terms of natural science. I was immensely inspired after having repeatedly studied the thesis about attraction and repulsion as expounded in Dialectics of Nature. In a broad sense the black hole theory was alleged to have been based on the theory of relativity. I found that even within the bounds of the theory of relativity in a broad sense, the black hole theory sounded paradoxical. In my paper based on my own research findings I offered my views which were contrary to the prevailing viewpoint but rested on definite scientific grounds in refutation of the erroneous views. Although what I endeavored to do in this respect was quite crude I did fire a shot at the bourgeois pseudo-science about the end of the universe.

Mathematics is abstracted from physical models. Engels put it rightly: "Men are still conceiving that what study is undertaken here embraces man's spiritual and pure 'freely created and imagined matter,' but there is nothing in the objective world that corresponds to it. However, the situation is just the opposite. The natural world provides a prototype for all the imagined quantity." This shows that mathematicians should pay close attention to the links between mathematics and physics, so as to spur the development of the theory of mathematics. Once I explained imaginary numbers to the first-year students of the specialty of natural dialectics, using the three interrelated vital physical phenomena -- the spherical movement, alternating current and wave-like movement -- to illustrate, from shallow to deep, the imaginary numbers in their actual forms. The students found my explanations easy to comprehend. In respect to the study of theoretical science, Professor Yang Chen-ning, American physicist of Chinese descent, visited Shanghai in June 1974. He proposed conducting joint research with teachers of Futan University on the problem of gauge theory. The leadership arranged for me and six other mathematics and physics teachers to participate. Since we had all taken part in discussions of modern physics in the school and paid attention to the links between mathematics and physics, we understood Yang's lectures on physics. On the other hand, we discussed mathematics in relation to physics and he also understood what we meant.

After conducting joint research with Professor Yang for several days, we achieved two results and later again obtained more results. These gains contributed to the development and substantiation of certain aspects of the gauge theory. In the latter part of September, 1975, I received a paper completed by Professor Yang and his colleagues, a study which touched on the extent to which the strength of the electro-magnetic field determines the gauge field. This is a relatively basic question in the theory of the electro-magnetic field. Following careful calculation and analysis, such as the relationship of the unity of opposites between extent and field strength, I arrived at a new result of theoretical significance. These examples illustrate that in the past years we have not "ignored theory." Rather, we have vigorously developed theory on the basis of practice.

Looking back at the gains achieved in the past years in ideology and work, I deeply feel that only under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can I truly contribute to the socialist cause. If it were not for the great proletarian cultural revolution, I would have slid down the revisionist road and degenerated into one similar to certain fellows of the Soviet revisionist academy. The historical tragedy of sending up the satellite and lowering the red flag may be re-enacted in China. It is precisely during the great cultural revolution that I was educated by the Party's basic line. With the ardent help of the workers, peasants and soldiers, I gained a deeper understanding of the old educational system and the revisionist line. This enabled me to make some progress in transforming my world outlook and led to radical changes in my approach to scientific work. I treasure this new starting point. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, I am determined to continue transforming my world outlook, participate in the three great revolutionary movements and contribute my all to socialist revolution and construction. Utterances that vilify the great cultural revolution as thwarting the activism of the intellectuals are not only unfounded but contain ulterior motives. P'eng Te-huai in the past unfurled the banner of "pleading on behalf of the people" to oppose the Party and socialism. Today, some people attempt to "plead" for the intellectuals under the pretext of showing "concern" for them but are actually engaged in acts embracing sinister motives. We must therefore firmly refute the farrago of every description. Together with the comrades I am willing to bear constantly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "We hope the intellectuals in our country will continue to advance and in the course of work and study gradually establish the communist world outlook, study Marxism-Leninism well and identify themselves with the workers and peasants. They must not stop half way nor turn back, for there is no future in turning backward."

* * *

Historical Experience Merits Attention

by

Fang Hai (方 海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 1, January 14, 1976)

Having gone through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and the criticism of Water Margin, our country's proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever. However, under the excellent situation at present, there still exists the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. The erroneous trend which emerged in a previous period of society to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution, the newborn things of socialism and the educational revolution was a striking manifestation of the revisionist line which represents bourgeois opposition to the proletariat. This once again has proved: That we must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and keep a tight grip on class struggle as the key link.

The historical experience of the past twenty years and more of our country's entry into the revolutionary stage of socialism proves that whether or not we can take class struggle as the key link is the basic question as to whether we practice Marxism or revisionism. The basic objective of chieftains of the opportunist line like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, in going all out to advertise the theory of the dying out of class struggle, was to oppose the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and to overthrow proletarian dictatorship. We need only for a moment to recall the class struggle at every crucial historical juncture since the founding of our country and the historical lessons of the Soviet Union to understand the essence of the present-day struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

In 1956, our country scored a great victory in socialist transformation as regards ownership of the means of production and was victoriously carrying out on the First Five-Year Plan to develop the national economy. In this period, Chairman Mao reminded the whole Party that it must persist in using the viewpoint of class struggle to analyze socialist society and pointed out that after basic completion of socialist transformation in the system of ownership of the means of production, the main contradiction in society that confronted us was still that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. But Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the so-called nonsense that "the question of who defeats whom between socialism and capitalism has already been decided" and that "the main internal contradiction is that between an advanced socialist system and the backward productive forces in society." Behind Chairman Mao's back, they forced this revisionist fallacy into the Resolutions of the 8th Party Congress. According to their fallacy, socialist revolution had been pushed too quickly and

should have been stopped to develop the productive forces; in fact, they wanted to turn back to capitalism. At the same time, Liu Shao-ch'i vigorously pushed a revisionist educational line in educational circles, advocating that "intellectual education comes first." They hoisted the banner for "marching on science" to lure intellectuals onto the white and expert road in order to restore capitalism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i, but Lin Piao and Ch'en Po-ta continued to push Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. They clamored that the main task after the 9th Party Congress was to develop production and continued to speak out for the theory of productive forces and for the theory of the dying out of class struggle; they raised a hue and cry for a so-called electronic revolution or a second industrial revolution without ever wanting to mention proletarian dictatorship. On the educational front, they declared that "There was some good in our educational system over the last 17 years," openly trying to reverse the verdict on the revisionist educational line for those 17 years and to negate the educational revolution underway.

Let's look once more at the historical lessons of the Soviet Union. After the October Revolution, the Soviet Union established a proletarian dictatorship; closely following that, it unfolded the proletarian educational revolution in the 1920's. At that time, Lenin pointed out that "Schools ought to become instruments of proletarian dictatorship." Under the guidance of a Leninist line, the Soviet Union then enrolled students directly from among the workers and peasants and gave close attention to combining education with productive labor, and a great many newborn things emerged on the educational front. By the 1930's, the Soviet Union began its First Five-Year Plan and set forth tasks to realize modernization. At this time, agents of the bourgeoisie usurped leadership power in Soviet educational circles, and making use of revolutionary slogans for realizing technical modernization of the national economy and accelerating the training of teams of proletarian intellectuals, they carried out frenzied counter-attacks against the educational revolution of the 1920's; they attacked the educational revolution for creating "chaos" in the schools and "lowering the intellectual level" of students; in addition, they restored the old educational system and systems for enrolling students and taking examinations. Under the rule of the revisionist educational line, those who were trained up from Soviet schools became spiritual aristocrats of this or that "school" and the like. Their representatives were Khrushchev and Brezhnev. These people usurped leadership power over the Party and state causing the Soviet Union's "satellite to fly to the sky and the red flag to fall to the ground"; thus did the Soviet Union degenerate into fascist social-imperialism. This lesson from history is truly a profound one for us!

Today, our country finds itself at an important historical stage; the 4th NPC set forth to the people of the whole country the great objectives for realizing four kinds of modernization before the end of this century. The whole Party and the people of the whole nation, upholding the Party's

basic line, are now battling to realize the four kinds of modernization. Under these circumstances, there are some people in the educational circles who openly slander the educational revolution as "dragging back the four kinds of modernization," instead of talking about the Party's basic line and continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. The emergence of such strange statements merits serious thought by revolutionary people.

"Historical experience merits attention." The historical experience of our country and the historical lesson of the Soviet Union turning revisionist profoundly conveys to us that, under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, education is still an important battlefront of life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie wants to use education to serve the restoration of capitalism, and the proletariat wants to use education to serve the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. True to its own characteristics, the bourgeoisie will always advocate that "intellectual education comes first," that is, first place for bourgeois politics. "Intellectual education comes first" is actually a manifestation in educational circles of the theory that productive forces are decisive. Whoever practices revisionism, espouses the theory of productive forces, puts technology in command and says that "intellectual education comes first," castrates proletarian dictatorship, uproots the Party's basic line and negates or revises class struggle as the key link. In order to consolidate proletarian dictatorship, we must raise the standards of the national economy and of science and technology. But this definitely must be achieved under the guidance of the Party's basic line, and be done both by relying on the broad masses and on combining the vast number of revolutionary intellectuals with the masses of workers and peasants. Marxism holds that victory for the socialist cause cannot be achieved without the participation of the broad masses of intellectuals. Our educational revolution is precisely aimed at training workers with both socialist consciousness and culture and at creating a grand contingent of working-class intellectuals. Practice has proved that worker-peasant-soldier students now being trained develop comprehensively in the moral, intellectual and physical aspects, strike root among the masses and combine closely with the masses of workers and peasants; thus they will be able to assume responsibility for the heavy tasks in realizing the four kinds of modernization. It is decidedly not true that the quality of students trained during the practice of the educational revolution is inferior, or that "the four kinds of modernization have been dragged back."

People who clamor that the educational revolution "drags back the four kinds of modernization" vainly seek to open a breach in educational circles in order to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution and the Party's basic line. The reason why they want to make a big fuss over the four kinds of modernization and the educational revolution has to be sought from their sinister motive to use people's strong desire to realize the four kinds of modernization and the theories of the dying out of class struggle and productive forces to corrupt people's souls and to entice them toward purely economic development and away from proletarian politics; this can only be a cover for restoring capitalism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must never for a moment forget classes or class struggle." Recently, Chairman Mao also taught us: "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link, and everything else hinges on it." We must have a profound grasp of Chairman Mao's teachings and truly understand that the struggle between the two classes and the two roads is the basic theory and practice of our Party. If we forget or are not clear on this point, then we may go down the wrong road. Having recourse to theories on dying out of class struggle and productive forces, or to use "intellectual education comes first" to negate the proletarian educational revolution and to negate continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship-- these are all important stratagems for the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat after the basic completion of socialist transformation of the system of ownership over the means of production. In the historical period of socialism, such struggles will erupt time and again. Therefore, in the course of our struggle to realize the great objectives of the four kinds of modernization, we must be especially vigilant against such attacks by the bourgeoisie. No matter whether we are working on economic matters, education, scientific research or are engaged in various other tasks for the socialist cause, we must all keep a firm grip on class struggle as the key link and as the means for consolidating proletarian dictatorship. Only in this way can we, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, do our various tasks still better and win still greater victories.

* * *

Revolution Can Change Everything

- Studying Chairman Mao's two poems

by

Tu Hua-chang (杜华章)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 1, January 14, 1976)

In our mood of incomparable excitement on studying Chairman Mao's two newly published poems -- "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou" and "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao," we can't help but recall the brilliant course of our country's democratic and socialist revolutions.

In 1927, Chairman Mao personally lit the torch of revolution on Chingkangshan. After a lapse of 38 years, Chairman Mao came to Chingkangshan again and wrote the brilliant poem "Chingkangshan Revisited--to the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou," an epic portrayal and splendid summation of the revolutionary struggle carried out in those 38 years by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The lofty image of Chingkangshan symbolizes the great Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao's opening up of the victorious road for the Chinese revolution and the revolutionary quality of standing firm on the part of Communist Party members and the Chinese people. When Chairman Mao led the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army up Chingkangshan the first time, the Chinese revolution was at a crucial turning point. The first major revolutionary movement of any vitality had been wrecked by the Right opportunist line of Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Tens of thousands of revolutionary martyrs had heroically sacrificed their lives. Chingkangshan was, like the rest of the country, a bird in the clouds, like darkness before dawn. At this crucial moment -- as a line from one of Lu Hsün's poems puts it: "The hardiest grass takes root in blood and sweat, the flowers of spring push up from frozen earth," -- our great leader Chairman Mao turned the tide, carried out resolute, uncompromising struggle with both the "Left" and Right opportunist lines, led the troops from the Autumn Harvest Uprising up to Chingkangshan, hoisted the revolutionary red flag and led the Chinese revolution onto a victorious path. The sound of gunfire at Huangyangchieh proclaimed that the Chinese revolution had opened to a new page of epoch-making significance.

The Chingkangshan road was the only correct road for the Chinese revolution. At that time, pessimists like Lin Piao were spreading all kinds of demoralizing arguments and raising questions as to "how long the red flag would fly"; in fact, they meant to oppose the Chinese revolution's taking the Chingkangshan road. Taking dead aim on the fallacies of Lin Piao, Chairman Mao wrote his brilliant Marxist-Leninist treatise, "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," in the spirit of Marxist scientific foresight and with a high degree of revolutionary optimism; this inspired the whole Party to meet the impending high tide of revolution with confidence

and to win new victories for the revolution. When history follows the course charted by Chairman Mao, it will move forward. Our Party has consistently held high the red flag of Chingkangshan and after ten years of land reform, eight years of the war against Japan and three years of the war of liberation, we finally overthrew the three big mountains and hoisted the first five-star red flag over Tienanmen. Thus did the people of China stand up like a giant and to enter onto the new historical stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Revolution can change everything. Chingkangshan bears witness to the brilliant history of the Chinese revolution; it lived through the major calamities suffered by the motherland and passed through the long dark night to welcome the dawn, the red sun rising in the east. In 1965, Chairman Mao "came 10,000 li in search of this old haunt," and once more climbed Chingkangshan, where "past scenes are transformed" as great changes had taken place. These changes are a true microcosm of the world-shaking transformation of our great motherland.

Using the language of poetry, Chairman Mao portrayed this great historical change: "Orioles sing, swallows swirl, streams purl everywhere and the road mounts skyward." This is a bright and glorious picture: Mountains and rivers have changed, but more important still, men have also changed. The slaves of bygone days have now become the masters. "The laboring people on the 9.6 million square kilometers of the Chinese People's Republic have now truly begun to govern this land." With boundless enthusiasm the masses of people at Chingkangshan, together with people all over the country, have, under the leadership of the Party, transformed heaven and earth; with the strength of their bare hands they have written the newest and most beautiful words, painted the newest and most beautiful pictures over the whole of the motherland. The bright golden highway, as pointed out by Chairman Mao, leads not only to the lofty peaks in the clouds of Chingkangshan, but also toward man's loftiest ideal -- communism.

However, Chingkangshan knows how difficult this is to attain. "Once Huangyangchieh is passed no other perilous place calls for a glance." The Chinese revolution has passed through a great many difficult straits, steered clear of many strong currents and dangerous shoals! There still will be greater trials for us in the future. The nationwide victory we have won definitely does not mean that the revolution is completed, but "only that we have taken the first step on a journey of 10,000 li." Thus, Chairman Mao, in the second and last stanza of his poem, begins by unfurling an imposing revolutionary vista for us on how "men live" today: "Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." Revolution must never come to a standstill. If the proletariat is to seize political power, it must do so through revolution; to consolidate proletarian dictatorship, we must continue the revolution. "Thirty-eight years are fled with a mere snap of the fingers." With the magnificent spirit of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao recalls the past, looks forward to the future, observes the unpredictable changes in the world as

well as the objective laws of historical development; he guides us in being farsighted and encourages and stimulates our revolutionary fighting spirit. In the long stream of history, the past 38 years is but a brief blink of the eye. While the victories we have won are great, they are, after all, "only the brief prologue to a long drama." The prologue is not the climax; to continue revolution under proletarian dictatorship means a still longer journey and our work will be still greater and more arduous. This then demands that we preserve and promote the revolutionary tradition of Chingkangshan and carry the revolution through to the end, in accord with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Revisionists like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao always portrayed socialist society as in an "undifferentiated state" without classes, class contradictions or class struggle. They were against continuous revolution under proletarian dictatorship and advocated theories of class struggle dying out and that only productive forces are decisive, which was to say that they wanted the revolutionary tradition of Chingkangshan and the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat to "die out"; they wanted to halt attacks on the landlord-bourgeois classes and to surrender to the landlord-bourgeois classes and to imperialism and social-imperialism like they did in order to let the already overthrown classes stage a counter-offensive with a frenzy a hundred times greater, so this would result in China's satellite going up to the sky and the red flag falling to the ground just as has happened in the Soviet Union and we would end up as a colony of social-imperialism. If we are true Marxists, we must oppose taking this course, bear in mind the basic line of the Party, persist in continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship, consolidate and strengthen proletarian dictatorship and forever let the red flag of Chingkangshan fly over the broad expanse of our motherland.

Every victory for proletarian revolution is won in struggle with all manner of opportunism and revisionism. This was so in the past and is so now when the revolution is carried on under proletarian dictatorship. Our Party has already gone through ten line struggles and there may still be twenty or thirty more to come. And the struggle to oppose revisionism at home is always closely related to the struggle against revisionism abroad. Were not Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao agents of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism? Whether we dare to resist and go against revisionist trends at home and abroad is a touchstone for distinguishing true Marxism from the false; it is also a touchstone for testing whether or not we have the thoroughoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.

The other newly published poem of Chairman Mao's, "Two Birds: A Dialogue--to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao," is a most thoroughgoing criticism of modern revisionism.

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, reputed to be a "superpower," appears to be colossal; but as viewed by Marxists in combat, it is simply a "sparrow in the bush" and nothing more. Chairman Mao's borrowing the fable of the roc and the sparrow in the bush from Chuang Tzu and his use of the image of the roc as a metaphor to represent proletarian

revolutionaries who persist in Marxism and the image of the sparrow in the bush to represent modern revisionists, cannot be more appropriate. Chairman Mao draws a striking contrast between these two: The roc soars 10,000 li, rousing "a raging cyclone" -- sweeping over the five continents and the four seas with revolutionary violence. Precisely what it likes is to "angrily churn up wind and water over the four seas and stir violent wind and thunder over the five continents"; in revolutionary wind and thunder, it glides swiftly to and fro -- like a fast horse, or a fish in water. But the sparrow in the bush can only hop about and skulk in the grass and low-lying shrubs. As soon as it sees gunfire lick the heavens and shells pit the earth, it is scared to death. "This is one hell of a mess! Oh I want to flit and fly away." This pungent and humorous line is a true-to-life portrayal of the repulsiveness of the daylong startled cries of the modern revisionists. The two birds stand in sharp contrast, with the image of the roc ever so lofty and grand and that of the sparrow in the bush so mean and insignificant!

Chairman Mao ingeniously uses the form of two bird dialogue to profoundly express the great polemic Marxists waged with modern revisionists in the international communist movement in the 1960's. Chairman Mao warmly praises the grand revolutionary spirit of the roc but has only merciless scorn and criticism for the ugly face of the sparrow in the bush and its revisionist fallacies. "Where, may I ask? The sparrow replies: To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills." The pathetic sparrow in the bush unfortunately lives in an era where imperialism is heading for its doom and socialism is moving toward victory. In the towns and cities of men today,"gunfire licks the heavens and shells pit the earth"; the angry waves of revolution are rising and breaking and the sparrows' nests are in constant danger of being submerged. They neither dare nor are they able, like the roc, to have "the blue sky on their back as they look down"; they can only close their eyes and dream of their ideal world -- the jewelled palace in elfland's hills. Here they have everything they hope for, but there are no gunfire, no shells which pit the earth, and no revolution. In order to have this jewelled palace in elfland's hills, "a triple pact was signed" -- in July 1963, they signed a "partial nuclear test ban treaty." This "ban" was actually a matter of their calling the tune, of only letting the magistrate commit arson without letting the common people light a fire; it was only to let them brandish the big nuclear stick, to exploit, enslave and oppress the people in the various countries of the world, without letting the people have tooth for a tooth, without letting them rebel or shape their own destiny. While brandishing the big stick, they use phoney communism to cheat their own people and those of other nations of the world. The jewelled palace in elfland's hills is truly a very fine one: "There'll be plenty to eat, potatoes piping hot, with beef thrown in." There are people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao whose mouths' watered over this kind of "communism" -- with potatoes and meat thrown in, but things like that can only be scorned by Marxists. Please hear the roc's reply: "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down." As for the sparrows, nothing is more frightening than to have the world turned upside down. Fear is to no avail. The proletariat and the masses will always rise up in revolt and will shatter the old world and all the jewelled

palaces in elfland's hills to pieces. The tide of history cannot be held back; the one who dictates the destiny of the world can only be the roc, not the sparrow in the bush.

Revolution is the locomotive that pulls history forward. Only with revolution can we change everything, create everything, send all decadent things to the grave and sweep the way clear for all revolutionary newborn things. Proletarian revolution is good not only at destroying the old world but also best at building the new. The proletariat and the masses of people who spur history forward with revolution can perform all kinds of miracles. "We can clasp the moon in the ninth heaven, and seize turtles deep down in the five seas; we'll return amid triumphant song and laughter" -- this splendid poetic line, so full of the spirit of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, gives full expression to the creative power and soaring ambitions of the Chinese proletariat and masses of people. Didn't imperialists and the reactionaries at home jeer at us in the past? Externally, they blockaded and surrounded us, internally they carried out subversion and sabotage; in the end, however, confronted by the fabulous wonders performed by the Chinese people and by the spectacular pace of the Chinese revolution, they were struck dumb and left confused and trembling.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." With this line Chairman Mao provides a splendid summary of the experience of the Chinese and world revolutions. Revolution will always experience difficulties. Some difficulties are looked on as very difficult to overcome. After the failure of the big revolution in 1927, when Chairman Mao led the forces from the Autumn Harvest Uprising up to Chingkangshan for the first time, opened up the first Red base area and founded the first Red regime while surrounded on four sides by white power, didn't the opportunists maintain that this was basically impossible? Yet, under Chairman Mao's leadership, the Red regime not only survived and developed but ultimately was extended over the whole of China. When the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army set out on its world-shaking 25,000-li Long March, climbing snow-capped mountains, crossing over the grasslands--, imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries elatedly presumed that this meant Chinese soil was to be rid of the "flood and wild beasts" of communism. Yet, with peerless revolutionary heroism, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, led by Chairman Mao, overcame all difficulties, real and imagined, and the Long March finally was turned into victory for ourselves and defeat for the enemy. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Japanese invaders surrounded us and the Kuomintang blockaded us but nothing could overwhelm us. We drove the Japanese aggressors out of China and then, relying on millet plus rifles, we annihilated the 8 million Chiang bandit troops armed to the teeth. When the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, in betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement, launched a surprise attack against our Party by tearing up agreements and withdrawing specialists and, in the international arena, churned up an adverse current against China, communism and revolution, they presumed we would have to submit to their baton. But our great leader Chairman Mao, with a great unflinching and heroic spirit of daring to go against the tide, led the whole Party and the people of the whole nation to deal a telling blow to

this adverse current in the service of counter-revolution; resorting to the great policies of independence and relying on our own efforts, we overcame all difficulties. On what do we rely? We rely on the correct line formulated by Chairman Mao and on the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, a spirit that dares to make revolution, dares to struggle and dares to win victory. From Chingkangshan to Taihangshan, from Tatuho to Nanniwan and from Tachai to Tach'ing, we have all along embodied this line and spirit.

Today, in our effort to consolidate and develop the great fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and persist in continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship, we may likewise encounter a great many new difficulties. In the proletarian educational revolution, for example, we must transform education as an instrument of bourgeois dictatorship into an instrument for proletarian dictatorship. In this "hereditary domain" of the landlord-bourgeois classes, we must open up a road that had never been treaded by our predecessors; how, then, can we expect not to have difficulties, contradictions or problems? Where there is resistance from the bourgeoisie and interference from the revisionist line, we must defeat and push it aside; where we lack experience, we must go through extensive practice to create and accumulate it. Thus, this revolution is bound to be arduous, tortuous and protracted. This is as true of the educational revolution as it is of the revolution in all other spheres of the superstructure. True Marxists never have illusions that everything will become perfect or ideal one morning. When we study Chairman Mao's newly published poems, we must give full rein to the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit that "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights," and scorn difficulties strategically while paying full attention to them tactically; in the course of revolution, we must indomitably push revolution forward, use revolutionary methods to promote the newborn things of socialism, accelerate their healthy development and win new and still greater victories.

Chairman Mao's two poems were both written on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution and provided the whole Party and people throughout the country with a strong theoretical weapon to oppose and guard against revisionism and for persisting in continuing the revolution. Today, we have already won great victories in the great cultural revolution and in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. But class and line struggles are still going on. Revisionism, as a kind of bourgeois trend of thought, always wants to jump forth. This is an objective law of class struggle. What can we do when revisionism does jump forth? Like the roc, we should despise and disdain it and wage an uncompromising struggle against it. The publication of these two great poems will certainly encourage the whole Party and people throughout the country to inherit and promote the revolutionary tradition of Chingkangshan, make revolution like the roc, persist in Marxism, oppose revisionism, persist in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, oppose the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and bravely strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, push ahead the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate and develop the great fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and build our country into a modern socialist state!

* * *

Learn from Comrade K'ang Sheng's Spirit of Continuing the Revolution

by

T'ang Wen (唐 文), Futan University

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 1, January 14, 1976)

On December 16, 1975 Comrade K'ang Sheng, loved and respected by the people of the whole country, left us forever!

Grief pervaded the Futan campus, where everything appeared to evoke past memories. It is recalled that Comrade K'ang Sheng, a great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people and a glorious anti-revisionist fighter, left his footprints on the tree-lined approaches to the Futan campus, in the conference room of the school and beside the machine tools of school-run workshops in the 1958 upsurge of the big leap forward.

Although 17 years have passed the venerable K'ang's looks, his smile and voice, as well as the footprints he left on the Futan campus have been indelibly imprinted in our minds.

1958 was an unforgettable, fiery year, with the surging tide of the big leap forward breaking open the gates of schools that remained tightly closed for many years. Inspired by Chairman Mao's call that "education must serve proletarian politics and integrate with productive labor," many revolutionary, socialist new things flourished on the Futan campus. However, due to the domination of the revisionist line on education, the new things were nipped in the bud the moment they appeared. The struggle then was indeed most fierce!

We will never forget our respected Comrade K'ang Sheng's visit to Futan University on the afternoon of October 11, 1958. At this juncture the struggle for the educational position between the two classes and the two lines was extremely acute. Comrade K'ang Sheng brought us the voice of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and provided us with immense inspiration and inexhaustible strength.

In a tidily kept conference room the representatives of revolutionary teachers and students vied for the honor of briefing Comrade K'ang Sheng on the thriving revolution in education. Comrade K'ang listened attentively, asking questions and talking with a sense of humor. Every new thing aroused his immense interest. When the teachers and students of the Department of Philosophy presented the venerable K'ang with a textbook on philosophy for peasants prepared when they were in the countryside, he smiled broadly and opened the pamphlet.....

Textbook on Philosophy for Peasants was the result of unfolding the revolution in education on the part of the second-year students and their teachers of the Department of Philosophy. They came to the

Chingshan Higher Agricultural Producer Cooperative in Haining county by the Ch'ient'ang River, Chekiang, eating, living and performing labor with the poor and lower-middle peasants, apart from forming the "Society for Study of Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Thinking" and "Philosophical Group." The textbook was compiled to meet the peasants' needs in their study of philosophy.

The venerable K'ang was very happy. He encouraged everybody with these words: "You've done a marvellous thing, a truly happy thing for the peasants!"

A student of the Department of Philosophy told the venerable K'ang: "We produced this textbook with shoulder poles and hoes and a lot of sweat."

The venerable K'ang said approvingly, "How splendid! Going to the countryside to run school is fine! Studying philosophy should be so. Studying Marxist-Leninist philosophy and Chairman Mao's philosophy is to understand it. The more we study with the masses, the better we understand. Studying behind closed doors in big buildings will get nowhere. Only by integrating with the workers and peasants can the revolution in education make headway."

The venerable K'ang's words made everybody think hard. Why did he so heartily approve of going to the countryside to study philosophy and compile reading matter on philosophy in plain language while others bitterly resented it? In the case of a Soviet revisionist expert who was in Futan as "adviser" just one or two years before then, he was frenziedly opposed to the Marxist principle of linking theory with practice, vilifying the use of philosophy to resolve practical problems as "over-simplified and vulgar" -- like "firing shells to hit at the sparrows" and "using tanks to catch the rats." Lu Ting-i, arch-demon of the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, even regarded the remarks of this Soviet revisionist expert as "a motto," and ordered the teachers and students to "carry out the views of the expert." As a result of the domination of the revisionist line on education, the students of the Department of Philosophy were confined to tall buildings where they studied behind closed doors. The more they studied, the less they comprehended and the more stupid they became. Those who got five marks in their philosophy class tests politically degenerated into rightist elements. The venerable K'ang at that time pointedly criticized the revisionist fallacy and firmly defended the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

After the forum came to a close, Comrade K'ang Sheng visited the Hungch'i /Red Flag/ Semiconductor Works, which had just been set up.

The plant was set up by the revolutionary teachers and students of the Department of Physics after 40 days of arduous work. Despite the fact that some people threw cold water on their proposed factory project, they displayed the spirit of founding an industry through self-reliance and hard struggle. They designed the project themselves and installed

its equipment, while the greater part of the construction materials was retrieved from scrap heaps. When the venerable K'ang visited the plant, the first triode in Shanghai had already been produced on a trial basis here.

Standing on the staircase, the venerable K'ang spoke to the gathering after he learned of the struggle involved in the course of building the plant.

He began with a recapitulation of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the revolution in education in the context of the Party's educational policy. He said: We go to school to study but practice is more important. We should work and study simultaneously and avoid having blind faith in books. Scientific research programs should be identified with mass movements. We must oppose the domination of a few bourgeois "experts" and "authorities," and dare to break down foreign conventions and superstitions, emancipate the mind and introduce innovations. He also urged the teachers and students to bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, go all out, insist on proletarian politics taking command and keep to the correct orientation of the educational revolution.

Comrade K'ang Sheng was greeted by rounds of applause as his sonorous voice reverberated in the air:

"You're operating a new-type plant, which turns out new products and trains new people. This is a new system, the young sprout of the communist educational system. You represent the direction of progress. You must carry on well!"

Since a school-run factory is a new thing, inevitably it has defects and imperfections. At that time some people who disapproved of the idea at once seized upon minor points and side issues to castigate the school-run factory. Angrily refuting those who accusingly branded the project as "a losing proposition" and "a waste," the venerable K'ang said: "This is not waste; it is tuition fee! We should distinguish tuition fee from waste!" As an outstanding Marxist, Comrade K'ang Sheng was invariably keen on new things and was always ready to foster them. It was then found that the quality of the triode that had just been trial-produced was not sufficiently stable, so the venerable K'ang said: "Try to combine surging revolutionary fervor with a sober approach to science. Scientific research involves exploring and mastering the objective laws of things, a course of repeated practice. Don't be afraid of failures and setbacks. You will surely succeed as long as you persist and keep improving."

Not long before Comrade K'ang Sheng's visit to Futan, worker-students who had been admitted into the Department of Physics a few months earlier battled for 40 days and produced China's first single transistor oven in Shanghai. The venerable K'ang was quite excited when he learned of this. Despite his fatigue, he came to the metallurgical plant.

That day, more than 30 worker-students were performing labor at the plant. When Comrade K'ang Sheng's tall and robust figure appeared before them, the students all jumped up with joy. Holding the latter's grease-smeared hands, the venerable K'ang said to them: "You're doing well, indeed! You must keep up with persistence!" After carefully examining the prototype of the oven, he asked every one of them about conditions with regard to study, labor and daily life. Finally, he urged them to continue carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle, persist in practice and strive to make greater contributions to the socialist cause.

The venerable K'ang showed great concern for the factories run by the faculty of science and wanted to see them one by one. From the metallurgical plant he went to the glass factory.

The glass workshop was also built from scratch during the big leap forward. It was housed rather inconspicuously in a low building behind the Futan auditorium. It was here that Ts'ai Tsu-ch'üan, a worker specializing in electrical light source, and his comrades, disregarding the obstructions and jeers of the capitalist-roaders and bourgeois intellectuals, used indigenous equipment to produce a quantity of high vacuum glass instruments, supplies which then still had to be imported from abroad. Watching attentively the workers and students at work, Comrade K'ang urged the students to learn humbly from the workers. Turning to Ts'ai Tsu-ch'üan, he said: "Workers have the obligation to teach the students." The venerable K'ang affectionately touched the plant's indigenous equipment and unreservedly praised the worker-comrades' revolutionary spirit of achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance and hard struggle. He was particularly elated when he looked around and found that both the workers and students were all young people in their early 20's. Raising his voice, he said: "Young comrades have great promise!"

We still remember clearly that before leaving the Futan campus Comrade K'ang Sheng's parting remark was: "School-run factories are fine!"

Despite a lapse of 17 years, the footprints and voice left by the venerable K'ang on the Futan campus are just as clear and distinct as they were before. In our deep mourning of Comrade K'ang Sheng, we felt especially agitated. In the 17 years prior to the great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was not implemented on the educational front, for schools then were dominated by bourgeois intellectuals. In plain language, the bourgeoisie then exercised a dictatorship over the proletariat. Cherishing the lofty feeling of a proletarian revolutionary, Comrade K'ang Sheng came to the Futan campus in 1958 to give his support to us in carrying out the revolution in education and fostering socialist new things. His presence provided the vast numbers of revolutionary teachers and students with immense strength and inspiration. However, shortly after the venerable K'ang left, some people threw his instructions overboard. Not long afterward, an evil wind, whipped up by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lu Ting-i, began to prevail.

Utterances such as "more labor and less study result in poor quality" were directed against the 1958 educational revolution.

None of the new things that won the venerable K'ang's approval was spared.

The door of the school that had been thrown open was closed again. The teachers and students of the Department of Philosophy who were studying in the rural areas in Haining were accused of being "hot-headed" and ordered to return to the school. Textbook on Philosophy for Peasants was discarded on the ground that "it doesn't look like philosophy."

All the factories laboriously founded and run by the workers and revolutionary teachers and students were ordered to cease operation. The Hungch'i Semiconductor Works that had contributed to socialist construction was destroyed and disappeared without a trace.

Instead, capitalist and revisionist stuff such as "intellectual development comes first," "excelling in learning to become an official" and "private ownership of knowledge" began to prevail on the Futan campus to undermine the talent of young people.

This backsliding served as a thought-provoking lesson for all!

In mourning the venerable K'ang, Liu Chieh and Ch'ien Hsiao-heng, who were recieved by K'ang in former days, recalled the lessons they had learned. Liu is now Deputy Secretary of the school's Party committee while Ch'ien is Secretary of the general Party branch of the Department of International Political Science.

"We were very much grieved by the venerable K'ang's passing. We feel all the more sad in recalling his inspection of our school. The venerable K'ang exhorted us to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, give support to the new things of the educational revolution, and keep to the orientation of the educational revolution. However, we soon forgot his teachings and slackened in transforming our world outlook. Instead, we did our best to carry out the revisionist line on education and maintain the hereditary domain of the bourgeoisie. Not until the great proletarian cultural revolution did we recapture from the bourgeoisie the leadership of the school. This resulted in a thriving scene on the education front. Today some people are again trying to negate the educational revolution and disavow the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must learn from the venerable K'ang's revolutionary spirit, bear firmly in mind the lesson of the collapse of the 1958 educational revolution, and actively throw ourselves into the struggle against the rightist wind of reversing verdicts and rejecting the educational revolution."

It is true that the educational revolution in 1958, praised by the venerable K'ang, was nipped in the bud by the chilling revisionist wind. However, the seeds sown in that year, nurtured by the sunshine

and dew of the great proletarian cultural revolution, began to sprout anew, take root and grow more sturdily than before. The "April 1" Multipurpose Electronic Instruments Works run by the Department of Physics no longer confined itself to the production of diodes and triodes but has been turning out large quantities of advanced precision products of high quality. Here, a generation of worker-peasant-soldier students, with knowledge of both politics and technology and capable of using their brains and brawn, have been maturing. However, all this is just the beginning, for the revolution in education is as yet at its experimental stage. To transform the school into a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat still requires prolonged endeavor. Even now some people again whip up the cold wind and accuse the educational revolution of going to extremes. They want to reverse the direction of the educational revolution. Do these people want to repeat the history of hitting back in revenge at the 1958 educational revolution?

History must not be repeated. In mourning the venerable K'ang, we must turn grief into strength, learn from and carry forward the venerable K'ang's spirit of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and unremittingly keep to the revolution in education to the very last.

The footprints left by the venerable K'ang on the Futan campus are the footprints of a great proletarian revolutionary, a glorious anti-revisionist fighter, and a Marxist theorist. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the vast numbers of revolutionary teachers and students of Futan University are determined to advance along the footprints left by the venerable Comrade K'ang Sheng!

* * *

Water Margin and "Literature for National Defense"

by

Hung Hsüan (红 宣)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 12, December 14, 1975)

During the period of the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" in the 1930's, Water Margin fared quite well, with no signs of its decline in the latter part of the 1930's and through the 1940's. However, articles in praise of Water Margin no longer dwelt on the subject of "submitting to the government" but turned to themes like "national character." Meanwhile, sequels to Water Margin that carried the signboard of "literature for national defense" made their appearance. A man of letters of the Butterfly School commented on the need to "describe foreign inroads and the concept of the Chinese people's war of resistance" and said "the situation which prevailed in the last year of Northern Sung is most suitable as the theme." He also favored the use of "Water Margin characters" to depict the "things in mind." He put it rightly. Under the historical condition of the anti-Japanese national revolutionary war at that time, the book Water Margin, which preaches capitulationism, without any doubt could not be more "suitable" and nearer to "ideal" to either people like Wang Ming who pushed the capitulationist line or to the Kuomintang reactionaries who advocated passive resistance and actively opposed communism.

As early as the 1920's Hu Shih, a reactionary man of letters of the landlord and comprador-bourgeois classes, identified Water Margin with a "national character." In his prodigious verifications of the novel, he stressed that Water Margin cherished "longings for the homeland" and "national sorrows," in the hope that "wandering heroes would come forward to prop up the Sung House." He thus embellished Sung Chiang the capitulationist as a "national hero." Wasn't it totally strange for a lackey and traitor like Hu Shih to prate about "longings for the homeland" and "national sorrows"? As was expected, he picked Water Margin for the explicit purpose of using the novel to "conquer the mind of the Chinese nation." On the other hand, some people who wrote sequels to Water Margin wanted to "use Water Margin characters" to portray the "things in mind" not only because the novel was "popular" and "can arouse the interest of the reader," but more important because capitulationism preached in Water Margin was closely identified with "literature for national defense," and as such they could "explain away" their obsession with national capitulation.

"In the long run national struggle is a matter of class struggle." The wars between Sung and Liao and between Sung and Chin during the Northern Sung period arose from the contradictions and strife between the tribal nobles of Chitan and Nuchen and Han landlord groups in China. Since the Chitan and Nuchen were in the stage of transition from the slave system to the feudal system, they were more inclined to plunder and destroy others. This resulted in the resistance of the vast numbers of the Hans.

With the sharpening of national contradictions at that time, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines still was most violent. Water Margin is deceptive in that it tampers with history and uses national contradictions to cover up class contradictions, citing "eradication of border troubles and rendering service to the state" as the main reason for Sung Chiang's surrender. At the Chrysanthemum Banquet, Sung Chiang is described as expressing his desire to lead an expedition to "defend the frontier regions, quell the unrest, protect the people and bring tranquility to the state." This is to gloss over Sung's traitorous behavior and to maliciously bring out the "patriotic" sense of accepting the amnesty and enlistment offer as implied in Wu Yung's intention to join the state of Liao because of his opposition to surrender. The novel also permits Sung Chiang the capitulationist to emerge a "national hero" after his successful expedition to the state of Liao. However, this is as untruthful as Chin Sheng-t'an's deletion of Water Margin's latter half. Toward the end of Northern Sung, it was the broad masses of the people that formed the main force in resisting foreign plunder and inroads, with the feudal court headed by Sung Hui Tsung, Chao Chi, acting as the headquarters for negotiating peace. Only by overcoming the reactionary court's obstructions and unfolding class struggle against the decadent rule of the big landlord class could foreign inroads be truly stopped. As a puppet emperor Sung Hui Tsung prostrated himself before foreign nobles and this made Sung Chiang, who was devoted to "loyalty and justice," nothing but a traitor. However, since Sung Chiang disintegrated the peasant revolution under the guise of leading an expedition to quell frontier unrest and took the devious path toward national surrender through class capitulation, he became a truly useful thing in the eyes of those Right capitulationists within the Party who vainly tried to sell out proletarian leadership as well as in the eyes of those Kuomintang reactionaries who vainly attempted to use national struggle to annul the revolutionary struggle waged by the Communists and the masses of the people. This shows that it was by no means accidental that they preached Water Margin as "a great national work."

The reason why Water Margin has been looked upon with favor is that the novel uses national contradictions to cover up class contradictions. More important, however, "loyalty and justice" preached in the book can serve as an ideological weapon for class capitulation. In preaching capitulationism, Water Margin brings the message home through "loyalty and justice" -- meaning loyal to the emperor and to the feudal court. In Water Margin Sung Chiang uses "loyalty and justice" to keep the Liangshan heroes in bondage and turn them over to the imperial court. In this way he nips in the bud the seething Liangshan revolutionary undertaking and quells the Fang La uprising. Sung Chiang merely personifies the concept of "loyalty and justice."

Articles extolling Water Margin and sequels to the novel preaching capitulationism in the 1940's achieved the desired results through preaching "loyalty and justice." A sequel to Water Margin published in the early 1940's entitled New Story of Water Margin fabricates the story of how Sung Chiang goes to the north to resist the Chin after he is enlisted by Chang Shu-yeh. According to the author, he wrote the book with "war of

resistance" in mind, thus giving "loyalty and justice" in the book a tinge of modern times. Chang Shu-yeh's letter to Sung Chiang identifies "patriotism" with "loyalty to the sovereign." This means that "war of resistance" is synonymous with acceptance of enlistment as "nationalist troops" (this modern term appears again and again in the book). Once "patriotism" is equated with "loyalty and justice," the object of patriotism is no longer the country of the broad masses of the laboring people, but the country of the reactionary ruling clique of the big landlord class headed by "Chao the empire keeper." In other words, in the eyes of the author, it is the country of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes represented by Chiang Kai-shek. According to this logic, the Liangshan insurgent army naturally becomes the "royalist army" of "Chao the empire keeper" -- "setting out to win laurels in the stormy seas of revering the monarch and stopping the barbarians."

If it is said that Water Margin portrays Sung Chiang as a personification of the "loyalty and justice" concept, then people like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and Ch'en Po-ta, who resurrected Ch'en Tu-hsiu's tailism during the war of resistance against Japan, were practical adherents of the "loyalty and justice" concept. They openly resisted the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands put forward by Chairman Mao in respect of the united front against Japan, and instead advocated "unified operations and unified command." To gain the so-called "unity" in actions and the need for "unity" in thought, Water Margin's "loyalty and justice" concept therefore became something quite useful. Following the "unity" score of the "New Life Movement" under the personal direction of Chiang Kai-shek, they picked up the old tune of "loyalty and justice." Ch'en Po-ta, sparing no effort to peddle the "philosophy of national defense" and "literature for national defense," repeated what Hu Shih had once stood for, praised Water Margin as "a great national work" and extolled loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and righteousness preached in Water Margin as China's "supreme virtues." In another article entitled "Evolving a New Outlook on Life," Ch'en spoke of loyalty and devotion to the country. What was his formula? He himself gave a very good example, such as "bearing any kind of humiliation toward our own compatriots provided this would be of benefit to the war of resistance." He elaborated that "submitting oneself in order to accomplish something even to the extent of being servile like falling on one's knees" was what they meant by "loyalty" and "justice." In both versions of the novel, Sung Chiang in the name of "loyalty and justice" succeeds in turning the Liangshan peasant army over to the landlord class as troops in its service. Like Sung Chiang, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and Ch'en Po-ta tried to use "loyalty and justice" to transform the CCP-led Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army and incorporate them into Chiang Kai-shek's "royalist troops" in the 1940's. In this context, "literature for national defense" only served the defense purposes of the state of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes, the fascist court of Chiang Kai-shek.

On the pretext of "loyalty and justice," the capitulationists within the Party betrayed the revolution, while the reactionaries outside

the Party used the same pretext to invoke surrender. Both therefore echoed each other. At the 5th Plenary Session of the 5th Kuomintang Central Committee held in January 1939, the Kuomintang reactionaries, apprehensive of the growing strength of the anti-Japanese forces led by the Communist Party, decided to adopt a policy of "merging communism," "restraining communism" and "opposing communism." This move was closely followed by a series of reactionary measures such as those for dealing with the "question of the Communist Party" and "measures for preventing the activities of alien parties." In addition, reactionary troops were massed along the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border and to the southwest and southeast of Shansi from the winter of 1939 to the spring of 1940 for an assault on the anti-Japanese forces led by the Communist Party. On the ideological front, they called for "general mobilization of the national spirit," "one party, one doctrine," and "correction of confusing and conflicting ideas." They also did everything possible to peddle "loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and righteousness" and urged the use of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to "dispel heresy and adjust man's spirit" -- this being the "only means" to "correct" "confusing and conflicting ideas." That is why "loyalty and justice" preached in Water Margin was naturally acceptable to the Kuomintang reactionaries. Subsequently, different versions of the sequels to Water Margin and "literature for national defense" responded to the "general mobilization" call. The author of New Story of Water Margin, which depicts how the Liangshan leaders are in favor of fostering a "greater sense of loyalty and justice" than that displayed by the "wandering brigands," deliberately permits the Juan brothers and Chu Kuei, Liangshan leaders of peasant stock, to join the death squads to redeem their past misdeeds and as an expression of gratitude to the imperial court. When they were dying of grave wounds suffered in the fighting, they repented for having "gone astray" in the past and not as retribution. In the book Kuan Sheng, who is described as having understood what "loyalty and justice" means, said in all seriousness that they died well and could set an "example" for posterity so "the brigands would follow us and be loyal to the state." Obviously, these words were intended for the Communist Party.

History tells us that "class capitulationism in fact serves as the reserve force of national capitulationism." Those who were in favor of "seeking internal order before driving out the intruders" were in fact calling for "internal order without having to drive out the intruders" and for "welcoming the intruders rather than seeking internal order." To them "what is external is internal and therefore there is no need to reject something that comes in from the outside," because these people had long regarded the interests of the exploiting classes as above those of the country. The moment when their class interests came into conflict with national interests, they would not hesitate to take the path of national betrayal. Chiang Kai-shek once said without reserve: "If China is subjugated by the imperialists, we could still survive as persons without a state. But if she is conquered by the Communist Party, then we would not even be accepted as slaves." They were firm in identifying themselves with national betrayal. To be loyal to these people would end up in joining them in surrendering to the foreign

aggressors. While Water Margin tries on purpose to cover this up, the New Story of Water Margin unintentionally reveals it. When the book comes to the "memorial" submitted by Sung Chiang to the emperor after the Sung imperial court's surrender to the Chin, reference is made to the remark that "the display of foolhardiness is ruinous to the vital affairs of the state." To be a little more explicit, surrender is what Sung Chiang has in mind. There is no unbridgeable gulf between class capitulation and national capitulation. A "loyal subject" heeds what his emperor says while the emperor heeds what the Chin say. Since Sung Chiang is loyal to the emperor, he is naturally loyal to the Chin. Here, Sung Chiang divines what the emperor has in mind. This shows that regardless of class capitulation or national capitulation, ideologically these people are rooted in "loyalty and justice." In Water Margin this is expressed in "carrying out the wish of Heaven," in being loyal to the throne, in accepting the amnesty and enlistment offer, and in setting out to fight on behalf of the emperor those brigands that do not "carry out the wish of Heaven." In the New Story of Water Margin, "loyalty and justice" finds expression in "revering the monarch and driving out the barbarians," with suffering humiliation and bearing hardships and even making the "supreme sacrifice" all for the sake of the emperor. Since "suppressing the brigands" or "driving out the barbarians" is contingent on "reverence for the monarch," when the emperor let things drift or harbored a false sense of security after making peace compromise, they would naturally surrender to the foreign aristocratic groups. Class capitulationism will inevitably lead to national capitulationism. In this sense, "loyalty and justice" has ties with both forms of capitulation. It is ties like these that bind Water Margin, sequels to Water Margin of every description, and "literature for national defense" together.

But some have gone farther, that is, by directly using "loyalty and justice" to defend the aggressors and traitors. As another sequel to Water Margin, Story Outside Water Margin portrays an "aggressor" endowed with human nature -- Chankan, a Chin general. This in fact is a literary exemplification of the Japanese aggressor that overran the Chinese territory. In the novel, Hsiao Kuei-ying, daughter of Juan the Seventh, marries Chankan for the purpose of rescuing Hua Feng-ch'un, son of Hua Jung. While in the Chin camp, Hsiao soon finds that "Chankan is a good man," and so she is in love with both Hua Feng-ch'un and Chankan. Through the lips of Sister Ku, the novel heaps praises on this traitor without any sense of national pride, unabashedly lauding her "merit" and "contributions" to the recovery of Shihchieh Village and embellishing her as a "national heroine" and a "protector of the country." Here, Hsiao Kuei-ying resembles another Sai Chin-hua, the only difference being Hsiao's ending -- she took poison with Chankan. Before she died she wrote a poem to express her feeling of love for Hua Feng-ch'un and her determination to remain a traitor to the very end. Isn't it quite apparent whether this work is one of patriotism or national betrayal?

From opposing corrupt officials only but not the emperor, pledging allegiance to the emperor and betraying the revolution and "suppressing the brigands" on behalf of the emperor and "assisting the king" to surrender

to an alien tribe with the emperor, this is the logical development and inevitable ending of "loyalty and justice" in class and national contradictions. From "loyalty and justice" it is possible to infer both class capitulationism and national capitulationism. Water Margin thus serves as a bible for all capitulationists. Commenting on the novel contributes both to our recognition of the hideous features of the capitulationists and to our efforts to continue the revolution to its completion under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Song of Triumph for Unity in Battle

- Big victory won at Chihlo Town

by

Wu Yün-hsiang (吴云乡)
Department of International Political Science,
Futan University

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 12, December 14, 1975)

In November 1935, not long after Chairman Mao reached northern Shensi with the Central Red Army which had completed the world-shaking Long March, he personally directed the Central and the Northwest Red Armies to victoriously conduct the Chihlo Town campaign. "The Chihlo Town battle, which cemented the fraternal solidarity between the Central Red Army and the Northwest Red Army, smashed traitor Chiang Kai-shek's 'encirclement and suppression' of the Shensi-Kansu border regions and laid the foundation stone for the task set by the Party Central Committee of placing in the Northwest the revolutionary headquarters for the whole country."

The Central Red Army Arrived in Northern Shensi

Although it was late autumn the warm spring breeze pervaded the northern Shensi upland. "The Central Red Army led by Chairman Mao has come!"

The arrival of the Party Central Committee and the Central Red Army in northern Shensi was a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It demonstrated the firm proletarian stand of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Chairman Mao, against Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, and foreshadowed the advent of a new upsurge for the Chinese revolution! Chiang Kai-shek's million-strong troops encircled, pursued, blocked and intercepted the Red Army on the Long March in a vain attempt to wipe out and prevent it from setting up its anti-Japanese base area in the north. Chang Kuo-t'ao, ringleader of the opportunist line within the Party, likewise opposed the Red Army's northward advance to resist the Japanese. He did his best to lead the Party and the Red Army to their doom. But the Long March finally triumphed! Chairman Mao's correct approach to resisting the Japanese from the north was realized!

On arriving in northern Shensi, Chairman Mao mapped out a remarkable battle plan for the Chihlo Town campaign -- a campaign of annihilation.

Both the armymen and civilians in the Shensi-Kansu border region were then engaged in opposing and fighting against Chiang Kai-shek's third counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" of the Northwest Red Army. This "encirclement and suppression" began in July 1935. By massing troops numbering more than a hundred thousand men drawn from units assigned to the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Suiyuan and Ninghsia, the main force of the Northeast Army, and partly from the "Central Army," Chiang Kai-shek directed the attack from five routes, vainly trying to destroy the Northwest

Red Army before the arrival of the Central Red Army in northern Shensi and achieve the objective of wiping out the Central Red Army's foothold in the Shensi-Kansu border region and completely annihilating the revolutionary forces. Whether or not it was possible to smash the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" would have a bearing on the question of the overall revolutionary situation -- placing the headquarters of the Chinese revolution in the vast Northwest.

Before the arrival of the Central Red Army in northern Shensi, the Red 25th Army, which had arrived in southern Shensi after fighting in the base areas in Hupeh, Hopei and Anhwei, and the Red 26th and 27th Armies, which had long fought in northern Shensi, were merged to form the Red 15th Army Group, under the command of Hsü Hai-tung and his deputy Liu Chih-tan. Inspired by the slogan of "fighting hand in hand to greet the Center and Chairman Mao" and battling tenaciously against a numerically superior enemy force, this army group wiped out the enemy's 100th division at Laoshan 15 li north of Kanch'üan, captured over 3,700 men, killed divisional commander Ho Li-chung and his chief of staff, and seized large quantities of arms. Later, a regiment of the enemy's 107th division was wiped out at Yülin bridge and its commander Kao Fu-yüan was captured alive. These two battles struck serious blows at the enemy's third "encirclement and suppression" aimed at the northern Shensi base area. To greet the arrival in northern Shensi of the Central Red Army led by Chairman Mao, the 15th Army Group dispatched many scouts and guides to contact the Central Red Army as they were anxious to see Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the sooner the better. The Red Army met the advance party of the 15th army group at Sancha on October 10 and nine days later Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee were in Wuch'i town in northern Shensi with the Central Red Army. Then, one regiment of the Northeast Army's cavalry division led by Pai Feng-hsiang which had been pursuing the Red Army on orders from Chiang Kai-shek was wiped out, with three other regiments of the same division routed. The Central Red Army led by Chairman Mao then proceeded south from Wuch'i town and along the Loho River via Yungning mountain to join forces with the Northwest Red Army.

Northern Shensi in November was cold but every fighter of the Northwest Red Army in his heart warmed to the thought of joining forces with the Central Red Army. The joining of forces of the two armies took place along Taoteyuan of Li county after the Northwest Red Army had won in the Laoshan and Yülin bridge battles. By then, Chiang Kai-shek's wishful attempt to stop the two Red Armies from joining forces had gone bankrupt.

Lassoing the "Bull"

Upset by the joining of forces of the two Red Armies, Chiang Kai-shek hurriedly regrouped his troops in a vain bid to annihilate the Red Army at one stroke. Our army was then surrounded by enemy troops on all sides, with units commanded by Yen Hsi-shan and Li Sheng-ta deployed to the east, Ching Yüeh-hsiu's units in the north, Ma Hung-k'uei's units in the west, and Chang Hsüeh-liang's Northeast Army in the south. Five divisions from Chang Hsüeh-liang's 57th Army, commanded by Tung Ying-pin, were ordered by Chiang Kai-shek to launch fresh attacks on our side from the east and the west, with

the 217th division moving northward from Loch'uan and Li county to join forces with enemy forces in Kanch'üan and Yenan and to form a blockade linking the south with the north along the Loho River and another four divisions -- 106th, 108th, 109th and 111th -- advancing eastward from Kansu and along Hulu River to form a blockade cutting from the east to the west. The enemy vainly tried to confine our Red Army to areas west of Loho River and north of the Hulu River and to prevent it from establishing contact with the Kuanchung base area, with the objective of striking at our Red Army from two directions near Kanch'üan and Li county.

Having the overall situation in mind, Chairman Mao had earlier instructed the responsible comrades of the 15th Army Group to attack and occupy several small fortifications including Changtsun-i and Tungtsun in order to get prepared for the next operations. Chairman Mao picked the militarily important Chihlo Town as the venue for fighting a battle of annihilation. A townlet inhabited by only a little over a hundred households and surrounded by mountains on three sides, with a narrow strip of land in between the slopes, Chihlo Town was traversed by a broad road running from the west to the east. In terms of terrain, which may be likened to a bag, our army had the decided advantage of fighting an impressive battle of annihilation by tightening both ends of the bag.

With the armymen and civilians in northern Shensi alerted and poised for combat before the battle began, the revolutionary committee of Lihsi led by our Party mobilized the masses to take part in the battle. It also organized a large number of convoys for moving grain supplies and stretchers in support of the front. With the Red Army units united for action, the fighters pledged to do their best to win the first battle after the Red Armies had joined forces. Chairman Mao instructed the Central Red Army to coordinate with the 15th Army Group in combat operations. At a mobilization rally before the battle began, the commanders and fighters of the army group proposed the slogans of "greeting Chairman Mao with victory in combat" and "learning from the Central Red Army in combat." The southern bank of the Loho River was charged with feelings of excitement as the fighters were poised for combat.

Acting in accordance with the battle plans mapped out by Chairman Mao, our army units began to move southward and northward in two directions on November 20, 1935. Chairman Mao assumed personal command of the Central Red Army and directed it to mass covertly along Shihtsu and Fenghuangt'ou north of Chihlo Town and,when the battle began, to sally forth from the north to the south. Vice Chairman Chou En-lai and others directed the 15th Army Group of the Northern Shensi Red Army to assemble and take cover south of Chihlo Town and be prepared to strike from the south to the north. An additional battalion of men was assigned to a small hilltop to the northwest of Chihlo Town for the purpose of luring the enemy in deep. In this disposition a "bag" was placed at Chihlo Town for annihilating the enemy. Chairman Mao's command post was located at K'uanp'ing 20 li northeast of Chihlo Town.

After three days of preparation, everything was in order for the enemy to get into the "bag." Some new recruits became impatient after a long waiting and asked the veteran fighters: "Is it true the enemy will come?" The latter replied with a touch of humor, "Yes, they will. They will submissively do what Chairman Mao has arranged."

Battle of Annihilation Is What Was Wanted

As was expected, the enemy's 109th Division, under cover of six enemy planes, moved toward Chihlo Town on the afternoon of November 22.

The 109th division was under the command of the Northeast Army, with most of its ranks bitterly resenting the loss of their homeland. They were perplexed by their assignment -- coming to the remote Northwest to fight Chinese instead of battling against the Japanese imperialists occupying the Northeast. To boost the morale of the ranks, the divisional commander Niu Yüan-feng assembled his men in the drill ground outside the Changwu city wall and lectured to them the trash of fighting against the Communist Party. He said boastfully: "When we engaged the communist forces in the past, we were called convoys. From today onward, we will not be convoys!" Niu then led three regiments and moved eastward along the Hulu River, relying on his possession of superior weapons.

That day Niu's men stopped at a place 20 li from Chihlo Town. We assigned one battalion the job of "lassoing" the "bull." It moved forward to lead Niu by the nose toward Chihlo Town. Thinking that he was "triumphant on unfurling the banner," Niu was jubilant and arrogantly entered Chihlo Town. He then ordered his men to occupy the surrounding hills and temples and to slaughter pigs and sheep to celebrate the occasion, being blissfully unaware that he and his men were already inside our army's "bag." That same night, Chairman Mao gave the battle order which placed various units in the strike points according to plans. With men and supplies in readiness all over the valley, our troops were poised for the first strikes. With the heroes outside lying in ambush in the silent night, people inside the town regaled themselves on choice food and wine in the flickering lantern light. At the crack of dawn on November 23, the battle cry was sounded. Our Red Army units from the south and the north advanced and speedily occupied the hilltops. From their high perch, they pounded the enemy's 625th regiment The sudden strikes wiped out the greater part of the regiment and forced the remainder to flee toward Chihlo Town. Thrown into utter confusion, the 627th Regiment inside the town took to the north hills and entered the fortifications of the 626th Regiment to seek refuge. The commander of the 626th Regiment was furious. Pouring abuse on the men of the 627th Regiment, he ordered them to get out. The latter, however, stayed put and refused to move out. The men kept swarming into the anthill-like fortifications, in their confusion not knowing where to hide themselves. Despite the arrival of enemy planes, the adversaries could not calm themselves. Standing on the slope of a hill in the morning glow, Chairman Mao, clad in an old cotton overcoat, assumed command with composure, disregarding the whizzing of enemy warplanes overhead. From time to time, Chairman Mao scanned the maps and gave orders. In instructions conveyed to the Red Armies, he urged them to act in concert and strengthen solidarity. He exhorted them over and over

again to fight a battle of annihilation. In the face of the Red Armies' fierce onslaughts, the enemy was on the verge of collapse.

At this juncture, one detachment of enemy soldiers held on to Chihlo Town and continued to struggle desperately, with their officers forcing them at gun point to withstand our army's attacks. For several times the enemy attempted to break the siege and so both sides were locked in combat. Standing on a hilltop and watching the fierce combat below, Army Group Commander Lin Piao was confused. He wavered, not knowing what to do about the situation. Chairman Mao firmly ordered him to lead his men and dash down the hill. He had no alternative but went down hesitantly. Because he was indecisive in directing the battle, he failed to crush the enemy but was besieged by him. He was rescued only after reinforcements were rushed to him by Chairman Mao's order. Under our army's crushing blows, the enemy was completely routed. The Red 15th Army Group dealt the enemy a head-on stunning blow, with the Red 2nd Division and Red 4th Division fiercely pounding at the enemy from the flank and in the rear. As a result, Niu Yüan-feng was trapped in the "bag." He could do nothing but take the blows. Around 11:00 p.m. our advance units entered Chihlo Town. From all sides brave Red Army men surged forth to pound at the enemy's divisional command post. Niu Yüan-feng, commander of the enemy division, had to flee to a hilltop stronghold east of the town with his battered troops of one battalion or more.

The "Bull" Is Killed

In the hilltop stronghold, Niu's battered unit made a last-ditch stand and refused to surrender. High on the hilltop, the stronghold was easy to defend but difficult to attack because of its inaccessible terrain. The 15th Army Group failed to seize the stronghold in its first assault. As the men were ready to launch another fierce attack, Vice Chairman Chou En-lai came. He carefully examined the fortified stronghold and the surrounding terrain with binoculars. He said after he was briefed on the first strike: The enemy is like a turtle in an urn; without food and drinking water, they will quickly abandon the stronghold and flee, and we must wipe them out before they get away.

Niu Yüan-feng was desperate. He radioed for help. But the three enemy divisions -- 106th, 108th and 111th -- commanded by Tung Ying-pin just stood and dared not do anything to rescue Niu, though they were only several dozen li away.

With the enemy stronghold within its grip, the Red Army began to unleash a political offensive. In accordance with Chairman Mao's thinking concerning the anti-Japanese national united front and taking advantage of the contradictions between the Northeast Army and the "Central Army," the Red Army fighters shouted across the firing line to arouse the patriotic sentiment of the ranks of the Northeast Army. One of their men who had defected to our side not long ago shouted at the top of his voice:

"Brothers of the Northeast Army, our homeland has been occupied by the Japanese devils. If you don't want to be persons without a state, you must turn your guns around and fight your way back to your homeland. By all

means don't give your lives for the sake of Chiang Kai-shek! We brothers don't fight each other!"

Our fighters then shouted: "We'll be nice to the Northeast Army!" "Those who lay down their arms will not be killed!"

As men on our side shouted, those on the other side listened in silence. Many of them no longer wanted to give their lives for the sake of Chiang Kai-shek. They just fired stray shots when their officers were around and listened when the officers left.

At dusk Niu Yüan-feng realized that no reinforcements would come and his men were combat-weary. The situation was untenable and so under the cover of darkness he broke out and fled westward with a handful of his trusted lieutenants. The Red 15th Army Group's 75th Division at once gave pursuit, with the fighters vowing to seize Niu. At Laoniuwan, 25 li southwest of Chihlo Town, Niu was captured alive. The entire enemy division was thus wiped out, with enormous quantities of arms and ammunition going to replenish the Red Army's depleted stocks following the Long March. Taking over the duties of a transport detachment was Niu Yüan-feng, who once vowed never to perform this kind of job.

Our brave Red Army fighters then turned westward to pursue the three enemy divisions retreating to the west. Three days after the Chihlo Town battle, our army wiped out in the morning one regiment of the 106th division at Changchiawan 20 li west of Heishui Temple.

These battles of annihilation dismayed the enemy but boosted our morale. The Chihlo Town battle in particular wiped out the entire division commanded by Niu Yüan-feng and one regiment of the 106th Division. This disrupted the enemy's plans for attacking northern Shensi and forced the 108th and 111th divisions and the remnants of the 106th division to retreat to Kansu. The 217th division that had intruded into Yangch'uanyuan from the east also fled and withdrew from Li county. The enemy's third counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" directed at our northern Shensi base areas was completely smashed.

The happy tidings of the Red Army's victory spread from the upper reaches of the Loho River to southern and northern Shensi.

The Chihlo Town campaign was personally mapped out and directed by Chairman Mao. The close unity among the Central Red Army, the Northwest Red Army and the people of northern Shensi assured the victory for the campaign. In summing up the causes of the victorious campaign, Chairman Mao attributed it above all to the fraternal unity between the Central Red Army and the Northwest Red Army, with the masses acting in concert with us as another important political lever. This unity and cohesion, based as it was on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, serves as the most important foundation for the revolution. Chairman Mao has consistently advocated unity under a common revolutionary goal, rallying people from the four corners of the land, regardless of where they came from, the north or the south. The brilliant victory won in the Chihlo Town campaign was the result of implementing Chairman Mao's

revolutionary line, of forging the unity between the Central Red Army and the Northwest Red Army, and of uniting the Northwest Red Army's three forces -- the North Shensi Red Army, the South Shensi Red Army and the Shensi-Kansu Red Army.

The big Chihlo Town victory consolidated the northern Shensi revolutionary base areas and established the headquarters of the Chinese revolution in the Northwest. With the coordination of the Red Second Front Army setting out for the long march from its base areas in Hunan, Hupeh, Szechwan and Kweichow, the successful campaign gave a powerful impetus to the vast numbers of cadres and fighters of the Red Fourth Front Army in their struggles against Chang Kuo-t'ao's right-deviationist splittism. Hereafter, under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and for as long as 13 years, north Shensi became the center of the Chinese revolution, the revolutionary mecca of the people of the whole country!

* * *

Ch'i Chi-kuang's Thought of Running the Army

by

Hung Ch'eng (洪城)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 6, December 20, 1975)

Ch'i Chi-kuang (戚繼光 1528-1587) was a patriotic general renowned for his resistance to the Japanese during the Ming Dynasty, a capable general of the landlord class. He took an active part in the struggle against the Japanese when he was 17 and until he was 41, when he was transferred from the south to take charge of Chichou. His life was spent in the tense and violent military arena.

The threat from the Japanese bandits began with the Yüan Dynasty. The Chiaching years (1522-1566) during the reign of Ming Shih Tsung, a period in which Ch'i Chi-kuang lived, were years in which Japan found itself in its own phase of "warring states." In the midst of chaotic fighting among the princes, a large number of frustrated samurai and politicians collaborated with pirates and merchants and, under the support of some feudal forces, carried out smuggling, looting and killing. What they did was detrimental to the friendly relations between the people of the two countries, China and Japan, which had existed since time immemorial. Sometimes they gathered a force of several tens of thousands of men and harrassed our coastal areas; at times they even drove into our hinterland and attacked and plundered our cities, inflicting untold hardships on the Chinese people as well as menacing the rule of the Ming Dynasty. The people along the southeast coast rose heroically against the Japanese and hit back at the aggressors wherever they were found. Encouraged and supported by the masses of people, the "Ch'i Family Army," led by Ch'i Chi-kuang, guarded the long coastal defense line of China's southeast region, "moving in a blitz fashion and again and again destroying the bandits in large numbers," "performing exceptionally brilliant battle exploits," and "achieving fame far and wide in the world."* The contributions it made to expelling the Japanese aggressors were tremendous.

"He spent most of the 360 days of a year riding on horseback and charging in the battlefield."** Both in the prolonged war against the Japanese and in the practice of military training while he was military governor of Chichou, Ch'i Chi-kuang accumulated a wealth of experience in military struggle. Inheriting and developing the military ideas of Legalist strategists such as Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i, he formulated a set of

---

* "Biography of Ch'i Chi-kuang, History of Ming."

** "Hengshuo Manuscripts Part I, Chihchiht'ang Collection."

ideas of disciplining the army and strategic and tactical principles and wrote a number of military treatises such as New Rules of Discipline and Factual Records of Military Training. In this article, we shall only explore his ideas of running the army.

The Merit of An Army "Lies in Its Efficiency, Not in Its Number"

An army must be efficient and be organized in such a way as to cope with the needs of war -- this is an important idea of Ch'i Chi-kuang in running the army.

In 1555 (34th year of Chiaching), Ch'i was transferred on order to Chekiang to fight the Japanese. At that time, although the coastal defense forces "have been depleted," the total strength was still no less than a hundred thousand men. However, under the influence of the line of "tolerating the enemies and condoning traitors," not only were the generals corrupt and incompetent, but the rank and file were made up of "the old and the feeble, tired and untrained." Some of the soldiers were tradesmen and vagrants given to many evil habits. They did not train for a long time, and military orders were disarrayed. "The banners of the army served as merely decorations and drums were used as musical instruments at banquets."* They were so disorganized that they could not stand a single blow. Since the military officers of the command headquarters could neither resist the Japanese nor defend themselves, as many as 70,000-80,000 soldiers were successively transferred here from other places. These soldiers did not know each other, did not speak in the same dialects and were subject to no restraint, so they could hardly be expected to fight in coordination, and they even "looted and raped no less rabidly than the bandits."** Quite obviously, depending on such an army could only bring harm to the local population and encourage the Japanese to be more rampant. Ch'i Chi-kuang pointed out sharply: "With such an army poorly trained and commanded, I do not know how it can be made to fight!"+ He deeply felt that to thoroughly defeat the Japanese aggressors entailed the need to recruit and train a new army which would fight bravely and be obedient and efficient.

Ch'i Chi-kuang believed that "the selection of soldiers is a task of top priority."++ To set up an efficient force, it was necessary to assign the work of selecting soldiers to an important position. In the matter of troop selection, there are two points advanced by Ch'i

---

* "Banners and Druns," New Rules of Discipline, Vol. XVI.

** "Outline of Disturbances Created by the Japanese."

\+ "Biography of Ch'i Chi-kuang," History of Ming, Vol. 141.

++ "Recruitment," New Rules of Discipline, Vol. I.

that merit serious attention. First, the origin and political quality of soldiers. He said: "The first that can be used are the rural and honest people," and "the last to be used are the city vagrants."* The so-called "rural and honest people" refer to the peasants and miners who were of peasant stock; the so-called "city vagrants" meant the rascals at the market place and sons of rich families. In doing so, he apparently proceeded from a practical approach as indeed he grasped a crucial point, namely, using the strength of the laboring people to cope with the needs of the war against the Japanese at that time. Second, he favored local recruitment. This would not only "save the expenses in recruiting soldiers from other places, expenses which would be several times greater," but, more importantly, it was because the local people, who suffered most deeply from the Japanese harassment, were the most resolute in resisting the invaders. Lenin pointed out: "In any war, the question of to whom victory will belong is, in the final analysis, determined by the moods of the masses who shed their blood in the battlefield."** Through "troop selection," Ch'i Chi-kuang guaranteed the quality of the army in terms of class composition in order to give it a better organizational basis. He recruited four thousand persons at I-wu, "gave them months of training before incorporating them into his units, and everyone of them was strong enough to take a hundred."*** This new army, with peasants and miners as its mainstay, given continuous training and tempered in battles, provided the basis and backbone for the powerful "Ch'i Family Army," whose name scared the enemy out of his wits, and played an important role in defending the coastal line and thwarting the incursion attempts by the Japanese aggressors.

Ch'i Chi-kuang proposed that to set up an efficient army, it was also necessary to institute a strict organizational system on the basis of troop selection and in the light of the requirements of actual warfare. Immediately after his recruitment at I-wu, he carried out a strict grouping in accordance with the organizational structure of tui (隊), ch'i (旗), chü (局), ssu (司), pu (部) and ying (營). In this way, restraint was exercised at every level and orders could be carried out rigidly. "Tui" was the basic organization of the infantry of the Ch'i Family Army. Each "tui" was composed of 12 men and equipped with various types of weapons. With each making up for the deficiencies of the other and responding to the other, the "tui" became a compact fighting unit and every man was able to bring his fighting potential into full play. Moreover, such an organizational system was flexible and, in the light of the movement of the enemy and the terrain, might be quickly changed into the

---

* Ibid.

** Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXI, p. 117.

*** Chronological Records of Ch'i Shao-pao, Vol. I.

"mandarin duck formation," the "three-men formation" or the "small three-men formation." Compared with other establishments in the Ming army which made five men as a group, this establishment could be easily adaptable to the operational environment in areas south of the Yangtze in which there were more swamps and the paths were tortuous and to the operational characteristics marked by the adeptness of the Japanese aggressors in laying ambush and good at close-quarter fighting. It made the army establishment more strict and more conformable to the requirements of actual warfare.

"Generals must follow rules, soldiers have a fixed number, provisions are limited, and so it is important that an army must be efficient."* Ch'i Chi-kuang also saw the need to continuously consolidate the rank and file and to reduce as far as possible non-combat manpower. When he first arrived at Chekiang to fight the Japanese, he proposed a thorough screening of the personnel of the command headquarters with the aim of retiring all the old and the physically weak so as to strengthen the fighting capacity of the army. After he was transferred to Chichou, he was firmly opposed to the various manifestations of corruption within the army such as "the strong served under the generals privately," "the old and the weak filled the ranks," and "officers thrived on graft and the soldiers were demobilized." According to the principle of better troops, he carried out consolidation of the frontier troops, dismissed a number of corrupt or incompetent officers, and strictly forbade officers from unilaterally allowing soldiers to leave their fighting stations "to serve them for private ends."** As a result, the officers one after another "dismissed their house servants and guards and returned them to the ranks."*** This gradually changed the situation in which the frontier army organs were swollen, but the "fighting men were few."

The merit of an army "lies in its efficiency, not in its number."+ Only an efficient army can defeat a strong enemy. Herein is embodied the dialectical relationship between quality and quantity, and to a certain extent reflects the reality of war and conforms to the law of military struggle. Ch'i Chi-kuang's theory and practice regarding better troops laid a sound organizational basis for the Ch'i Family Army.

"To Train and Be Well Prepared Is a Matter of Prime Importance for the Army"

"Chi-kuang was good at training his army."++ This was a comment made by the people of the Ch'ing Dynasty on Ch'i's military training. It was also an important aspect of Ch'i's idea of running the army.

---

* Ibid.

** "Training of Generals," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. IX.

*** "Oral Instructions," Miscellaneous Notes on Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. IV.

\+ Ibid.

++ Preface to the Outline of Factual Records of Military Training.

The reason why Ch'i was "good at training his army" was basically that he had a better perception of the importance of training the army. Owing to the general lack of training, the army of the Ming Dynasty often suffered from defeats in war. This fact so impressed him that he recognized that if an army was untrained, it would be "fighting with bare hands." Not only would it be unable to defeat the enemy, but would "be defeated by the enemy."* Therefore, on three occasions he submitted memorials proposing the training of troops, clearly setting forth the thesis that "to train and be well prepared is a matter of prime importance for the army."** He proposed that the commanding officers of the armed forces must know how to train the troops and the soldiers must train constantly in order to acquire the military skills. He often warned his men: Military skills "shall be used by you to protect yourselves, to kill the enemies, to win merit, and to save lives. If you are good at military skills and are determined to kill the enemies, how can they kill you? If your military skills are not as good as those of the enemies, they will surely kill you. If you do not learn military skills, you are idiots and do not cherish your lives."+ Although these words were based on self-protection and self-help, they nevertheless illustrated some truths about wiping out the enemy and preserving oneself. Ch'i Chi-kuang also forcefully refuted the view that training of the army would take time and would not help solve immediate problems. He pointed out: "Killing the enemies and training the troops may go hand in hand."++ Here, what was meant by "killing the enemies" mainly referred to killing the Japanese bandits. He boldly refuted the proposals of those bureaucrats who followed the rules of thumb. While he was leading his army in an emergency march from Chekiang to Fukien, he insisted on marching and training at the same time. To encourage training and learning of military skills, he held periodical reviews and tests, and organized quarterly military tournaments in the spring, summer, autumn and winter every year. Those who achieved good results in military training were promoted and rewarded; those who were laggards were duly punished.

In the course of training, Ch'i Chi-kuang, proceeding from the needs of actual warfare, was concerned with seeking practical results and opposed style without substance. He pointed out: "What are being learned today are impractical and inapplicable to actual warfare. When war comes,

---

* "Training of Generals," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. IX.

** "Proposals for Military Training" appended to Chronological Records of Ch'i Shao-pao, Vol. I.

\+ "Bans," New Rules of Discipline, Vol. IV.

++ "Questions," New Rules of Discipline, Vol. I.

new laws and decrees are issued, unlike those one is accustomed to hear and see. This being the case, what is the good of training for a thousand years?"* This statement pinpointed the drawbacks in the training of the Ming army as well as one of the important causes for the weak fighting power of the Ming army in the war against the Japanese. Ch'i Chi-kuang stressed that "laws and decrees being studied in ordinary times should apply in actual warfare," and he demanded that "one day of training should produce its own results, and once a technique is studied, it should be made to apply."** Therefore, the "Ch'i Family Army" was adequately trained in ordinary times and fought with flexibility and dexterity on the battleground, winning every battle it fought.

Another noteworthy point of Ch'i's military training was that training was carried out in the light of specific circumstances and individuals. The content and methods of training were determined according to different situations. In the north the plains were vast and broad and the enemies were good at riding and shooting. "When they marched once in several years, they marched with a force of several hundred thousand men." So he attached importance to training in horse riding and chariot warfare. In the south there were many swamps and the enemies were good at using swords and at laying ambush. They were used to attack from many directions with small groups of men, so he attached importance to training in a two-man formation. When training in the two-man formation, he let the brave, the strong and the young learn to use the rattan shields, men of stout built learn to use the halberds, and men of about 30 and with abundant energy learn to use the lances. This guiding idea of training with different terrains and different objects of war in mind embodied a simple dialectics and a definite scientific character. At the same time, in the course of training, he also attached importance to a gradual, progressive approach of going from the shallow to the deep. After the soldiers enlisted, they were first trained in grouping, taught to get familiarized with orders, to tell the differences between drums and banners, and to master military skills. Then, on the basis of training on an individual basis, group training was carried out in order to raise the efficiency of mutual coordination and fighting in cooperation.

Training and being well prepared is the way to prevent disasters. Strengthening training is a vital aspect of the army making good preparations against war, and is a task of strategic character. An important reason why the army led by Ch'i Chi-kuang was able to defeat the Japanese aggressors was that the "powerful army" guarding the coastal defense was "proficient in training."

"Strict Restraints" and "Cease Interference"

Giving serious attention to discipline, unifying orders and being strict in handing out rewards and punishments -- these were the

---

* and ** Ibid.

vital component parts of Ch'i Chi-kuang's idea of running the army. He tightened up the army's discipline with "strict restraints" and "ceasing interference," making the Ch'i Family Army renowned throughout the world as a well disciplined army.

In the middle period of the Ming Dynasty, "military administration has long been loose. All military knowledge and operational methods and tactics are outdated. Officers do not know their men, and men are subject to no restraints. This state of affairs has existed for some time."* "Soldiers were not given strict orders."** The army was disorganized and devoid of fighting morale and suffered repeated defeats. In view of this situation, Ch'i Chi-kuang laid the greatest emphasis on "strict restraints." "Restraints" here meant unifying the orders, commands and actions, so that the whole army was subject to restraints from top to bottom and was closely knit and so that orders were carried out and bans observed. He said: "There has been no famous general now and in the past who can direct his soldiers to win a hundred battles without the use of restraints, orders, drums and banners."*** Only strict restraints can guarantee unity of will and action, "so that the strong will not advance alone, nor will the weak retreat alone. The army will stand as a mountain which cannot be shaken and cannot be resisted by torrents. It can fight a hundred battles in an orderly fashion and is sure to triumph over the enemy completely."+

How, then, can "strict restraints" be exercised? Ch'i Chi-kuang fully developed the functions of banners, drums and various rules of military discipline and orders. He asked all the officers and men of the army to "clearly understand and observe the banners and drums. They may give up their lives, but they must observe the orders. They may die in fighting, but they must respect the restraints. They must honor the orders even if to do so means death."++ When drums for advance were beaten, all had to advance bravely even if there were water and fire ahead of them; when drums for restreat were beaten, all had to retreat resolutely even if there were mountains of gold and silver ahead of them. Banners and drums were used to transmit army orders in order to "achieve unity of will of ten thousand men." He also laid down clear stipulations concerning the various activities in the army and even compiled catchwords which could be easily remembered and observed by the rank and file. Military officers

---

* "Training of Generals," Factual Records of Military Training," Vol. IX.

** Chronological Records of Ch'i Shao-pao, Vol. I.

*** "Orders," New Rules of Discipline, Vol. II.

\+ "Training of Generals," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. IX.

++ Ibid.

at various levels were to be responsible for the work at their own levels. The strict restraints imposed and the effective measures taken by Ch'i Chi-kuang assured the thorough execution of operational orders and various directives.

Discipline in regard to the civilian masses also received Ch'i Chi-kuang's serious attention. The war of resistance against the Japanese was a war of national self-defense, a war that conformed to the interests of the people. It was only with the people's participation and support that military operations could be conducted successfully. At that time the Ming army was so corrupt that it fled at the sight of the Japanese aggressors, but it was extremely cruel to the civilian masses. Very often, "government troops looted after the enemies had looted."* The people fled before the government troops as they fled before the enemies. As a result, the Ming troops "could find no shelters and no place to cook." Ch'i Chi-kuang saw the gravity of this problem and tried his best to change the situation. He strictly called on the army to "stop interfering with the people."** He cautioned the soldiers again and again: "While you are soldiers, you will be served meals and paid even though storms are blowing and no work is done by you. This money is raised by the government from the local populace..... By feeding you for a year, all they hope is that you will go to battle one or two times to kill the enemies. If you are unwilling to kill the enemies and protect them (the populace), what they are feeding you for?"*** In the meantime, Ch'i Chi-kuang laid down rigid rules of discipline in regard to the civilian masses. He strictly forbade the soldiers from plundering the populace, trespassing on civilian farms and burning civilian houses. Those who cheated, stole and killed were all to be court martialled without exception. Although Ch'i Chi-kuang's proposal to "stop interfering with the people" could not basically eliminate the antagonism between the Ming army and the masses of people, yet with the national contradiction being aggravated, forbidding the army from committing some acts to harrass the people did to a certain extent conform to the interests of the people and conduce to the struggle against the Japanese.

Ch'i Chi-kuang also advocated that "rewards and punishments must be given strictly and impartially." He said: "Rewards and punishments are essential in the army. Those who deserve to be rewarded must be rewarded even if they are the personal enemies of the commanding officers, and those in difficulty also should be helped. Those who violate military

---

* Brief Study of Japanese Aggressors During the Ming Dynasty, p. 42.

** "Formation Training," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. VII.

*** "Bans," New Rules of Discipline, Vol. IV.

orders must be punished according to law even if they are the sons or nephews of the commanding officers, and under no circumstances should personal favors be extended."* "Both rewards and punishments should be endorsed by the rank and file," so that "everyone knows the reasons for rewards and punishments."** To a certain extent, in accordance with feudal criteria, Ch'i Chi-kuang saw to it that "rewards and punishments are handed out strictly and impartially," and this played a due role in maintaining the order of the army.

All Weapons and Equipment "Must Be Refined, Improved and Renewed"

Ch'i Chi-kuang consistently took the stand that weapons and equipment should be refined and improved and that better weapons should be combined with better troops.

Ch'i contended that in order to thoroughly defeat the enemy, it was necessary to study the weapons of the enemies and to improve our own in order to attack their weak points with our strong points. He said that when two armies confronted each other, "if the enemies attack with arrows, we must see to it that their arrows cannot hit us, and we hurt them first. If they attack with swords, we must see to it that their swords cannot hit us, and we hurt them first. If they charge toward on us on horseback, we must see to it that their horses do not disturb our formations, and we kill them first." Things must be done in this way before "we can win the moment we take them on."+ Therefore, Ch'i Chi-kuang suggested that "all warships, fire-arms, and equipment must be refined, perfected and renewed."++ He attached importance not only to improving individual weapons but also to the coordinated use of all sorts of weapons. During the war against the Japanese, he carefully studied the features of such major weapons as swords, lances and heavy arrows used by the Japanese. In the two-man formation he worked out the coordinated use of a variety of weapons including rattan shields, bludgeons, lances and swords. The rattan shields might be used as armor; the halberds were made of long bamboo, with their tips fitted with bayonets. These two types of weapons were used mainly to block the advance of Japanese aggressors armed with arrows and lances and to cover our own advance. The lances were longer than the enemies' swords and lances and might be used to preempt the enemies. The swords were used by soldiers when they charged forward to save their wounded, after failing to hit the enemies with the lances. Ch'i Chi-kuang also personally planned and supervised the building of various types

---

* "Courage Building," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. II.

** "Training of Generals," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. IX.

\+ "Oral Instructions," Miscellaneous Notes on Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. IV.

++ "Biography of Ch'i Chi-kuang, History of Ming."

of war vessels such as fu-chuan, tung-chiao and hai-tsang. Fu-chuan was tall and big and had great displacement; next to it was tung-chiao. When the tide rose and the wind was favorable, these two types of warships were used to deal with the Japanese ships and sink them with the help of the wind and the sheer weight of the warships. Hai-tsang was smaller, but it had light displacement. It could sail on shallow water and against the wind. This type of warship could be used to pursue the Japanese ships and to salvage the heads of the enemies killed. In this way, coordinated use of these warships of different features in different battle situations had the effect of making up each other's weak points, greatly enhancing the coastal defense strength, and creating important conditions for vanquishing the enemy.

While Ch'i Chi-kuang attached major importance to weapons, he did not make the role of weapons absolute. Instead, he called for coordinated use of men and weapons. He pointed out: "Good weapons are useless without good troops. Good troops without good weapons are in fact weak."* He let soldiers of different ages and different physical features use different weapons, thus fully developing not only the strong points of the weapons but also the special features of the soldiers. Such fire-arms as fowling pieces and short-barreled artillery pieces were used for "long-distance" firing. At the beginning, they were often used without restraint, with the result that before the enemies approached, all the ammunitions were used up. Later, he proposed that "weapons used for long-distance firing be used for short-distance firing." "When the firing range of a weapon is a hundred paces, it should be fired only for a distance of 50 paces, so the targets shall not be missed."** All of this yielded remarkable results in war practice. Despite his views on good weapons, Ch'i Chi-kuang was still unable to recognize and handle the dialectical relationship between men and weapons in the context of dialectical materialism, yet his ideas and practice provided us with beneficial historical experiences.

"Training of Troops Should Be Preceded by Training of Generals"

Ch'i Chi-kuang was of the opinion that in order to build an efficient and powerful army, it was not only necessary to give attention to selection and training of troops and improve weapons, but also to train a group of fine generals. "It is on commanding officers that the victory or defeat in battle and the survival of the army hinge."***

---

* "General Discussion on Weapons and Training," Miscellaneous Notes on Factual Records of Training, Vol. II.

** Ibid.

*** "Training of Generals," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. II.

He regarded the question of commanding officers as a matter of prime importance bearing on the victory or defeat in war and on the survival of the army. Therefore, he stressed that "the training of troops must be preceded by the training of generals."* On this question, special elaborations can be found in New Rules of Discipline and Factual Records of Military Training.

How can one be a fine general? In Ch'i's view, a fine general must be virtuous, talented, knowledgeable, and skilful. What he meant by "virtuous" refers to political quality, "talented" to the level of leadership, "knowledgeable" to the ability to tell right from wrong, and "skilful" to the skill of killing the enemies and winning the victory. To sum up, a fine general must be strong politically and good militarily. These are Ch'i's criteria for selection of generals and also constitute the content of training of generals. Among these four criteria, he attached even more importance to training "generals to be virtuous," namely, to be loyal to the ruler, to protect the country, to insure peace among the people and to cherish the soldiers. He maintained that a general who is talented but not virtuous could not be a fine general and should not be entrusted with an important job. He repeatedly asked his own generals to "take the defense of the areas under their charge to heart at all times," to "do things on solid grounds." In ordinary times a general must "sincerely cherish his soldiers, showing concern for their health and studying their likes and dislikes." In war times, he must "share the weal and woe with them and lead them forward" "in disregard for his own life." Although all of this still belonged to the feudal ethics and morality and did not transcend the political scope of the landlord class, yet under the conditions of resisting the Japanese aggression, it had positive effects on stimulating officers and men in defending the border areas.

Ch'i Chi-kuang also paid serious attention to the military training of generals, stressing that generals must "study the martial art" and "study the military skills" and must continue to improve their organizational and commanding abilities and skills of killing the enemies and winning the victory. He said that a general must make a success of studying military skills. "If you do not study them first, how can you encourage others to do so? If you do not study the different tactics, how can you judge whether the soldiers are trained in the right way?"** "Moreover, the commanding officer must march at the head of his armed forces. How can he be brave without possessing the skills. And if he is not brave, how can he lead his troops?"*** This is to say, if a general does not possess the military skills, he cannot train his troops

---

* "Biography of Ch'i Chi-kuang, History of Ming."

** "Training of Generals," Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. IX.

*** "General Discussion on Weapons and Training," Miscellaneous Notes on Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. I.

well nor lead them to fight. Therefore, he asked his generals to study "all kinds of military skills and all types of weapons. Even if you cannot be well versed in them all, you should be well versed in one or two of them while also gaining a general knowledge of the others."* Moreover, they must exert themselves to study the art of war and continue to sum up experience of actual fighting, so they might well be acquainted with the "conditions of their troops, the terrain, and the movement of the enemies," master the tactics of war, "varying them and applying them in the light of different circumstances," so as to raise the techniques of directing the fighting.

"All true knowledge comes from direct experience."** A capable general cannot be brought up in a hot house nor just by lecturing him. He can grow up and mature only in the practice of struggle. Ch'i Chi-kuang believed that "a man who does not get himself involved in a real situation is like a blind man who talks about the color of silk."*** Therefore, he advocated that a general must train in practice, improve his military skills, enrich his experience, and increase his organizational and commanding ability in practical struggle. Even logistics officers who studied the art of war should be sent to the armed forces to be tempered, to be tested in war, before they should formally be assigned. Under the guidance of this thought of training generals, many fine generals who distinguished themselves in the war against the Japanese emerged in the Ch'i Family Army, of whom the outstanding representatives were Wang Ju-lung and Chu Chüeh, who were formerly miners. These battle-tested generals with rich experience played an important role in the efforts made by Ch'i Chi-kuang to build an efficient and powerful army and in resisting external aggression.

Ch'i's idea of running the army was born in the practice of the struggle against the Japanese and in the practice of military training; it summed up his entire military life. It embodied the experiences of the masses of people and other patriotic generals in the struggle against the Japanese at that time. At the same time, it clearly reflected the influence of the thought of Legalist military experts of former generations. However, the most basic reason why Ch'i was able to contribute to the struggle against the Japanese and to be an outstanding military expert among his contemporaries in the management of his army was that he persevered in a patriotic political line in resisting Japanese aggression.

---

* Ibid.

** Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Bound Volume, p. 264.

*** "General Discussions on Weapons and Training," Miscellaneous Notes on Factual Records of Military Training, Vol. I.

Harrassments by Japanese bandits along China's coast gravely menaced the safety of the lives and property of the people and aroused their extreme anger and strong resistance. However, some big landlords and big merchants along the coast of Chekiang and Fukien maintained illicit relations with foreigners and collaborated with each other. Their agents in the Ming government such as Yen Sung and Chao Wen-hua went all out to push a line of capitulation and national betrayal, one that tolerated the enemies and condoned the traitors, on the grounds that "harrassment by the enemy along the coast may be tolerated, but rebellions by the peasants cannot be tolerated." As a result, ships of Japanese bandits were allowed to call at various important ports freely and without hindrance, and frontier defense officials even went so far as to please the Japanese bandits by presenting them with red robes and jade belts as gifts. For instance, the Governor of Fukien, Juan O, presented the Japanese bandits with several hundred bolts of silk, a thousand gold bars, several tens of thousands of taels of silver, and several carriages made up of ivory. Such a big traitor who collaborated with the Japanese bandits, however, was spared by Ming Shih Tsung, Chu Hou-ts'ung and his prime minister Yen Sung. On the other hand, generals who performed merits in resisting the Japanese such as Chu Wan, Chang Ching, Li T'ien-ch'ung and Yü Ta-yu were condemned, deprived of their military power, faced various trump-up charges, and were even sent to prison or sentenced to death. "News of victory angers the prime minister (Yen Sung)" and "prisoners are carted away in the midst of the song of triumph!" The struggle between the two lines -- between love of country and sell-out and between resistance and capitulation -- was getting fiercer and fiercer, and a group of people who called for a war of resistance such as T'an Lun and Yü Ta-yu appeared. They supported each other and waged a resolute struggle against the capitulationists. Under these circumstances, Ch'i Chi-kuang sensed that the incursion by the Japanese bandits seriously endangered the interests of his own class, and under the impetus of the waves of resistance by the masses of the people, he firmly stood on the side of those who opposed capitulation and national betrayal and called for resisting the Japanese and wiping out the traitors. That was why he was able to see the needs of the struggle against the Japanese, and undaunted by ridicule and undeterred by difficulties, he went ahead to recruit and train a new army, made his contributions to the struggle against the Japanese and formulated his idea of running the army in the course of struggle.

While affirming Ch'i Chi-kuang's historical position and appropriately evaluating his idea of running the army, we should also point out the class and epochal constraints imposed on him. Under the situation where the Japanese bandits were intruding and the national contradiction in some parts of the country rose to be the principal contradiction, his adherence to the patriotic stand and his opposition to national capitulationism reflected to a certain extent the demands and aspirations of the masses of the people. However, once this boundary was transcended and the struggle between the landlord class and the peasantry was involved, he was seen to be standing on the opposite side of the masses of the people. The fact that Ch'i Chi-kuang had suppressed peasant uprisings in Kiangsi and other places fully illustrates that he was after all a general of the landlord class,

and the Ch'i Family Army was no more than an instrument of landlord class rule. Even his idea of running the army had a lot of feudal dross and was mixed with the Confucian and Mencian stuff. This greatly limited the breadth of his idea of running the army and its political and military significance.

* * *

Recall the Revolutionary Deeds of the Central Red Army in Southern Szechwan During the Long March

by

I Chün (宜军)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 5, October 20, 1975)

In January 1935, the Central Committee of the Party held an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau at Tsun-i, Kweichow. It put an end to domination of the Central Committee by Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line, and established the leadership of Chairman Mao over the whole Party and the whole army, bringing the Party line onto the correct track of Marxism-Leninism. With great foresight, the courage and resourcefulness of a proletarian revolutionary as well as his outstanding art of military command, Chairman Mao personally directed the campaign in which the Red Army made its four crossings over the Ch'ihshui River, eliminating a great portion of the enemy's effective strength during the movement and attaining decisive victory during the strategic shift. A great spectacle was created in the history of war. During the campaign of the four crossings over the Ch'ihshui River, the Red Army many times passed through such places as Kulin and Hsüyung in southern Szechwan where they did many a moving and inspiring deed, composing an earth-shaking epic that vividly pointed to the great truth: "The Long March is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding-machine."

Recollecting this episode in history is of extremely vital significance in deepening our study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and furthering the criticism of the bourgeois military line advocated by the renegade and traitor Lin Piao, so that Chairman Mao's proletarian line of building the army will be implemented still better and the revolutionization of the army stepped up.

Hard Struggle and Bold Advance

"The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march; to them a thousand mountains and ten thousand rivers are nothing." As the Red Army set out from Tsun-i and marched into southern Szechwan, the conditions it faced were very difficult indeed. It was obstructed and intercepted by the enemy in front and pursued by the enemy from the rear while being shadowed and bombed by the enemy's aircraft as it made its way across the rugged country. But the brilliance of the Tsun-i meeting lit up the direction in which the commanders and fighters of the Red Army advanced, and everyone marched on boldly in high spirits and with firm determination, living plainly and braving hard struggles. The T'aip'ing Ferry and the Erhlang Beach at Kulin were vital points from which the Red Army made its four crossings over the Ch'ihshui River. There the local inhabitants saw with their own eyes how the Red Army used small paths instead of main roads, moved under cover of night while remaining still during the day, and marched when there was rain instead of on bright fine days in order to confuse and keep the enemy on the run and destroy him. The Red Army had a clarion slogan: "Taking the big road or the small path is all for the purpose of

destroying the enemy. Taking a detour or marching a long distance is all for the victory of the revolution." The Red Army braved the wind and rain to march more than a hundred li a day. Whenever they got to a camp-site, very few of them would occupy civilian quarters. Some would just sleep beneath the eaves of a house or even just by the roadside. As the roaring wind brought down on them a blanket of snow or startled them in the middle of the night, they would feel the cold pricking down their bones from their already soaked uniforms. They would make a fire to dry their clothes, ready to hit the road again at daybreak.

Such places as Tats'un and T'iehch'ang at Kulin were important areas where the Red Army passed many times. The local people saw how everyone in the Red Army, disregarding the fatigue of long marches and bitter battles every time they camped in, took out their tools from their waist bands to start making their own straw sandals, and with quite a bit of expertness, such that when it was all over, everyone of them would be carrying quite a few pairs over their shoulders. Out of curiosity, a poor man called Chao Hung-sheng asked a cadre of the Red Army: "Mr. Red Army man, your craftsmanship is very good, but why do you need so many pairs of straw sandals?" The comrade replied warmheartedly: "The Red Army is an army led by Chairman Mao, an army made up of the children of the workers and peasants, people who have toiled and suffered all their lives. For the sake of revolution, everyone must learn how to make straw sandals. It is by wearing these straw sandals that we have broken through many blockades and scaled ranges of lofty mountains and crossed innumerable rapids. By wearing these straw sandals we have been able to gain the initiative by out-maneuvering Chiang Kai-shek's army of several hundred thousand men at the Ch'ihshui River, throwing them into utter confusion as they grew tired of moving. They were hit wherever they went and what they found were only a few worn-out straw sandals left behind by the Red Army. With these straw sandals we'll advance further, scale higher peaks and overcome countless difficulties and risks on our way to destroy the old world." These words of a Red Army man pleased Chao, and he also began to propagate such "persuasive arguments of the Red Army." The poor folks were quickly mobilized to make straw sandals which they gave to the Red Army. There was a ballad that read as follows:

Clear, oh, clear! The Ch'ihshui River,
I make straw sandals for the Red Army,
With straw sandals we cross mountains
And march north to resist the Japs.

Clear, oh, clear! The Ch'ihshui River,
A pair of straw sandals represents my heart;
The Long March sows seeds of fire,
With workers and peasants united to fight for
their liberation.

Clear, oh, clear! The Ch'ihshui River,
I send straw sandals to the Red Army out of gratitude;
Feelings between army and people are like the Ch'ihshui
water,
Flowing onward for ten thousand generations.

Because the Red Army moved around on a broad front that extended over a thousand miles while fighting frequent battles with the enemy, material supplies were very difficult to come by. In February 1935, after the Red Army converged on Chasi (now Weihsin) in Yunnan, it turned back east and came to the Lungshan region of Kulin. As a result of the rapid march that lasted several days on end, the rice bags of the Red Army had long been exhausted and the men were very hungry and tired. At this moment, a regiment of the enemy's Szechwan Army was sighted hot in pursuit. How could the men fight with an empty stomach? When the quartermasters of the Red Army went among the masses to collect grain, they saw that the little town had long been ransacked by the Kuomintang reactionaries, who left the people in rags and not enough food to leave for the next day. Life was indeed terrible. After receiving the report, the Red Army leadership decided that instead of troubling the masses, they should try to get "grain" from the barren hills. The commanders and fighters slashed their way through the thickets and found growing in the hills a kind of wild plant called "hung-tzu" /red seed/ which they used as food to relieve their hunger. On seeing this, the local inhabitants felt so painful as if their hearts were pierced with a knife. They thought about the Red Army which, for the sake of liberating all the poor people, feared no hardship and sacrifices. Now, the men had to eat bitter wild plants between frequent marches and battles. Word was passed around and in no time the local people collected whatever food they had and sent it over to the Red Army. The Red Army declined the offer with thanks. After taking the wild plants, the Red Army plunged into battle and gave the pursuing Szechwan troops a good thrashing that sent them fleeing in utter disgrace. The Red Army continued its advance in the direction of the Ch'ihshui River. From then on, the local inhabitants called this kind of wild plants "army-saving grain."

Plain living and hard struggle and advancing boldly are the fine tradition of our army. Relying on this glorious tradition, our army defeated one enemy after another and won a series of great victories. By keeping to this glorious tradition, our army overcame every difficulty and vanquished every enemy.

Unity of Action and Marching in Step

"Obey orders in all your actions, for only by marching in step can there be victory." This is one rule which the commanders and fighters of the Red Army have especially learned to appreciate. A retired veteran fighter of the Red Army in Kulin county recalls: What struck me most after I joined the Red Army was the great prestige Chairman Mao enjoyed in the army. Following the major triumph at Tsun-i, our army unit held a meeting to celebrate the event. Some old comrades recounted the contrast between the two opposing lines. They said: Before the Tsun-i Meeting, the fifth counter-"encirclement and suppression" campaign failed because the "Left" opportunists resorted to what they termed as "attacking on all fronts," "striking with both fists" or "dividing our forces into six routes," "resisting on all fronts" and "launching short swift thrusts." Even after we pulled out of the Central Soviet areas, they turned to flightism. Instead of actively seeking opportunity to annihilate the enemy that

was intercepting us in front or pursuing us from behind, they played the game of "beggars beating the dogs -- fighting and retreating at the same time." Whether it was running or staying, our army was tied down by the enemy everywhere and was bitten by "dogs" every day. After the Tsun-i Meeting, due to Chairman Mao's wise leadership, the whole army was united as one. Morale and spirits were high, and as everyone was full of revolutionary militancy, battles were fought brilliantly and evacuations organized with great efficiency. The fact that two different results came out of two different lines made us deeply aware that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was the only correct line. "Obey orders in all your actions" meant we must follow Chairman Mao's orders in everything. "Only by marching in step can there be victory" meant we must unite as one on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought in order to win victory. This old fighter of the Red Army also says: "We travelled back and forth across the Ch'ihshui River several times, but we had no complaints whatsoever because all of us knew that Chairman Mao was in command of our battles." Some comrades even said humorously: The Ch'ihshui River likes our Red Army, we part and unite again and some day we'll see it again. Others said: After the victory of the revolution, we'll build communism along the banks of the Ch'ihshui River. Now, it is with this ideal in mind that this old fighter of the Red Army retired from the big city and is settling down by the Ch'ihshui River.

"Speak politely" and "do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses." This rule of discipline set by Chairman Mao for our army during the Chingkangshan days constituted an important aspect of the Red Army's political work. Even to this day, the masses of people at Hsüyung county in southern Szechwan still remember the Red Army, singing the praises of a moving example of its respect for discipline and love for the people!

In February 1935, when the Central Red Army made its way across a vast stretch of orange grove on the Yingp'an Mountain in the suburbs of Hsüyung city, it had already marched for several days on end and had not eaten anything. Starvation seriously threatened each and every commander and fighter. As they ascended to the Yingpan Mountain, they saw that golden oranges were all over the hills, and quite a number had dropped to the ground fast rotting. The Red Army men, forgetting their extreme fatigue, let out a burst of praise. Some said: Let me have one orange and I'll march 70 to 80 li at one breath. But there were only cries of praise and nothing else. None went over to pick the oranges. Those that dropped on the ground were picked up and placed by the treeside. Later, they learned that the orange grove belonged to a local tyrant and landlord by the name of Chang who lived inside the city of Hsüyung. Thereupon, the Red Army confiscated all the grove and turned it over to the suffering poor. An outburst of joy prevailed on the Yingpan Mountain as the miserable masses jubilantly sang and danced. They lauded the Red Army for its high sense of organization and discipline as well as its clearcut class viewpoint. Sang the masses: "When the Red Army arrives, the poor laugh and the landlords weep. When the White army arrives, the opposite is true. To keep the smile of the poor, the White army should not be allowed to come back where the Red Army has been." What a true portrayal.

Lenin taught us: "If our Party does not have a most rigid and truly iron discipline,.... then it would be hard to keep the power of the Bolsheviks for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years." The reason why the Red Army was able to overcome under extremely difficult conditions an enemy several times or even several tens of times greater in strength than we were was that the Red Army men had a conscious sense of discipline and therefore the heartfelt respect and warm support of the broad masses of the people.

Mobilize the Masses in Support of the War

"The support of the people is the most important condition for the Red Army." When the Red Army fought around southern Szechwan, no matter how difficult the environment, how complicated the situation, how frequent the battles and how exhausted the men felt, it never gave up mass work. Wherever they went, they always kept up their work of conducting propaganda among the masses, organizing and arming them, and making them aware that "only the road taken by the Red Army is the road to their liberation." If the southern Szechwan region were a pile of dry firewood, it became a revolutionary prairie fire after the Red Army set it ablaze. The "Redness of T'aiho" at Kulin was a vivid example. T'aiho commune was where the Red Army passed through three times in its four crossings of the Ch'ihshui River. When the Red Army is mentioned there, the people would volubly talk about how the Red Army did propaganda among the masses and how enthusiastically the young men of T'aiho enlisted in the Red Army. Hsü Chün-lun, a relative of a Red Army man and now a production team leader, says: When the Red Army came to T'aiho, they wrote, painted, sang and talked. Revolutionary slogans were written on the walls, tree trunks, rocks, and inside houses, as were Red Army notices, declarations, political programs and songs. A local inhabitant said: "When the Red Army arrived, streets were brightened up with red posters as if it were New Year's Day. Every word that the Red Army said touched our hearts and made us aware that only by making revolution with Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, only by taking up guns for revolution and joining the Red Army, could the poor find a way out and China be liberated. After hearing what the Red Army said, more than 800 people in T'aiho joined the Red Army." He continued: "My elder brother had been a house servant for a landlord, suffered miserably and lived a life worse than that of a beast of burden. When the Red Army arrived, he ran out of the landlord's house and listened attentively to what the Red Army said. On coming home in the evening, he said: I want to join the Red Army. I can't let the landlords trample on us any longer. It's time we made revolution against them. The whole family was stirred and supported him in joining the Red Army. Since he had to leave the next day, what could we give him? We were very poor. Grandma found some corn which she popped to fill half a can that very night for him to take along to his Red Army unit. In the Red Army, he followed Chairman Mao to fight in the south and in the north. Now he is a responsible cadre in the PLA." A retired old Red Army fighter in Hsiangting commune in Kulin county said: "When the Red Army arrived at Kulin, its propaganda penetrated people's heart. We poor people vied with each other joining the Red Army, with parents sending off their sons, wives sending off their husbands and brothers locked in hot argument as to who

should enlist. My family had been a farm tenant for many generations and though we toiled all the year round, we still ended up clothed in rags and having not enough to eat. Even when we toiled for the landlord as hard as we could, he colluded with the village head to pressgang my second elder brother. My brothers and I were bitter about the dark old world, so when we heard the Red Army tell the truth, my first elder brother, my fourth younger brother and myself all joined the Red Army and took to the road of revolution."

The Long March was a propaganda force. Every commander and fighter of the Red Army was an outstanding propagandist missing no opportunity to propagate the truth about the revolution. Even when they were wounded and confined to bed, they never ceased talking about revolution. Ts'ai Te-heng, an old doctor of Chunglo commune in Kulin has this to say: "In February 1935, when the Red Army passed through here, a Red Army man from Kiangsi could not walk because his feet had blisters. Since my father was a doctor, we kept him in our house. After three days of treatment, he could walk again. But in these three days he took little rest; instead, he, ignoring his pain, talked to us about revolution and taught us to sing revolutionary songs. Now I still remember one Red Army song: 'Join the Red Army and be welcomed by the workers and peasants. Officers and men get the same treatment; there is no oppression against anyone. Join the Red Army and be welcomed by the workers and peasants. Overthrow the local tyrants and distribute their land; let us poor people stand up.' This song and what he told us educated and influenced us deeply." Another retired Red Army man in Kulin county said: When the Red Army arrived in Kweichow on its long march toward the end of 1934, I joined it. When we passed through such places as Tats'un, T'iehch'ang and Lungshan of Kulin and Shihpa and Tapa of Hsüyung, the masses greeted us on the road with smiles. In every village people offered us tea, cigarettes or eggs while many others served us as guides, porters or stretcher-bearers. Scenes like this simply inspired me, increasing both my determination and confidence in following Chairman Mao to make revolution.

Unity Between Army and People, and Their Mutual Sentiment Deep As the Sea

In the days and nights the Red Army was making its long march across southern Szechwan, a deep class friendship and boundless revolutionary feelings grew between it and the people.

In February 1935, when the Red Army reached Tsoumapa of Kulin, they came upon a very sick elderly woman who looked as if she were already on the verge of death. She was Granny Fang, mother-in-law of poor peasant Yü Shih-fen. A regiment commander of the Red Army came to the doorway of her house and saw the whole family in a state of grief. After inquiring what it was all about, the Red Army man produced an ounce or so of ginseng and gave it to the family, saying affectionately: "This old lady is very ill. She's already finding it hard to breathe. Hurry and get this medicine decocted for her." Granny Fang took the medicine and began regaining her breath. She recovered gradually. Learning this, the masses in the neighborhood said: "The Red Army has done a very good thing!

indeed!" To thank the Red Army, Yü Shih-fen and her family gathered a basketful of vegetables picked from their own plot and carried it over to the Red Army camp. The Red Army warmly received her and paid for the vegetables, besides giving her some cloth and a swab box.

In January 1935, when the Red Army was passing through the street of Erhlang Beach in Kulin, it came upon the family of Keng Kuang-yen, which was living in dire poverty. The whole family was dressed in shabby rags and dared not come out of the small hut in which they hid themselves from the winds and snow of the bitter cold winter. They were in extreme difficulty as they were unable to live on the little money they earned from peddling a few cakes of beancurd. To make matters worse, Keng Shih-hsüan, the grey-haired father of Keng Kuang-yen, suffered from bad ulcer in his feet, moaning in bed unable to get up. Thereupon, the commanders of the Red Army sent a doctor over to see the old man. The Keng family knew that Red Army doctors were busy treating the wounded and sick in the army as well as those among the masses. Keng Kuang-yen, feeling a little guilty, said to the Red Army doctor: "Sir, my father has been suffering from this foot ulcer for years. It's hard to cure. You're wearing yourself out like this; there's really no need to trouble yourself over him any more."

"How can we do that?" the doctor replied. "The Red Army is the people's army under the leadership of Chairman Mao. Attending to the masses is our duty. We must do our best for your father." The doctor's words so moved Keng Kuang-yen that tears rolled down his cheeks. Under the doctor's intensive care, the old man recovered quickly. Later, when the Red Army had to leave on a combat mission, the doctor gave Keng Kuang-yen a battle of medicine and asked him to apply it to the old man's feet. Medical supplies were already short in the Red Army, and yet the doctor gave away the expensive medicine imported from abroad. The senior Keng was so touched that he had a hard time trying to find the right words. Finally, he said: "With a good army such as yours, we the poor will surely come out of the dark night and see the sun!"

After the Red Army had left, the old man's foot ulcer gradually disappeared, and what was left in that bottle of medicine was later used to cure the foot ulcer of other poor folks. From then on, the bottle became the heirloom of the Keng family. On seeing the bottle, they would at once recall that Chairman Mao's affection and love for the people are as weighty as mountains or as deep as the sea in significance.

The Red Army loves the masses, and the masses love the Red Army. In the campaign during which the Red Army made four crossings over the Ch'ihshui River, it passed through southern Szechwan several times and fought many battles with the enemy's Szechwan and Kweichow Armies. In the course of battle or marches, some soldiers were so seriously wounded or ill that they could not follow their army units and had to be left behind. The masses in Kulin, Hsüyung and other areas, though exposed to the white terror at that time, took care of them and nursed them back to health. Regarding these Red Army men as shoots of revolution, they did everything to protect them, even at the risk of their own lives. A Red Army fighter

was knocked unconscious by a horse during a night march across the T'aip'ing Ferry. He was discovered by the local inhabitants and carried indoors where his wounds were cleaned and his blood-stained uniform washed. He was put in bed and treated by a Dr. Chang. Under the care of the masses, this Red Army fighter showed signs of recovery. But at this time the Landlord Corps learned of this and sent a gang to kill him. The masses moved the Red soldier from house to house, hiding him here and there, and succeeded in smartly keeping him under cover. After he recovered, he returned to his unit with the help of the local Party organization and the masses. Recalling the event, the Red Army fighter said with deep feeling: "The people of Kulin treat the Red Army men as their dear ones. My life is given to me by the Party and the masses."

In 1935, when the Red Army was passing through Paishach'ang in Kulin, a Red Army man was suddenly struck with paratyphoid fever and could not move. An old practitioner of Chinese medicine, Fu Tze-an, took this fighter into his own house and restored his health after two weeks of treatment. While receiving treatment, this comrade told Fu a lot about the revolution, and on the day of returning to his unit, gave the doctor a copper coin of the Chinese Soviet. Fu treasured the gift dearly and has kept it in his pocket for decades. He said: "I've lived for 85 years, this copper coin is what I've come to love most. It is a gift from the Red Army, and every time I look at it, I think of the Red Army!"

Forty years have elapsed, but the people of Kulin and Hsüyung and other places in southern Szechwan still deeply cherish the Red Army in their memories. Recently, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Red Army's Long March, Kulin county mobilized the masses to collect revolutionary historical relics, which to date have already numbered more than 200 pieces. Every revolutionary cultural relic is filled with the people's intimate memories of the Red Army, with the deep love and affection that exist between the army and the people. For the benefit of the masses, Kulin county has set up a gallery at T'aip'ing Ferry, an important point where the Red Army made its four crossings over the Ch'ihshui River. The Party Committee and Militia Department of Hsüyung county printed a booklet entitled "Red Oranges on the Yinpan Mountain," and distributed copies to Party and militia organizations at all levels to give Party members, cadres, militiamen and the masses an education in the line and revolutionary tradition, so that everyone may be encouraged to take the Red Army as their example, foster the revolutionary tradition and carry the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li.... Comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. They must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." Looking at the road taken by the Red Army in those years and the socialist revolution and construction we are carrying out today as well as reminding ourselves of this great instruction issued by Chairman Mao on the eve of the nationwide liberation, we should

all the more study and promote the glorious tradition of the Red Army and exert ourselves to make clear "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie?" both in theory and practice. We must be more resolute in our struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and carry the new Long March of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end!

* * *

Study and Criticism, No. 12, December 14, 1975

Table of Contents

Consolidate and Develop Gains of the Great Cultural Revolution

Develop New Things Emerging from the Great Cultural Revolution - by Hung Li-hsin SPRCM No. 85

Keep To the Road of Training Technicians from Among Workers SPRCM No. 85

A New Flower of Educational Revolution--About running correspondence courses well in rural areas - by CCP Committee of Shanghai Municipal Education Bureau

It Is Essential To Adhere to the Orientation of Educational Revolution - by Yang Hsi-k'ang SPRCM No. 85

Consolidate and Develop the Achievements of Educational Revolution SPRCM No. 85

It Is Impermissible To Reverse the Verdict Passed on the Revisionist Line in Education - by Yen Feng, Futan University SPRCM No. 854

Use "Water Margin" As Teaching Material by Negative Example To Help All People Recognize Capitulationists

Comment on Water Margin's Theory of Human Nature - by Chai Ch'ing SPRCM No. 855

Water Margin and "Literature for National Defense" - by Hung Hsüan SPRCM No. 858

Beginning With the Physical Assault of Chen Kuan-hsi by Lu Chih-shen - by Wang Tsu-ken, member of Workers Propaganda Team of Futan University

Going Up to the Mountain and Going Down from the Mountain in Water Margin - by P'eng Ta-hua, worker of Shanghai Steel Mill No. 5

See Through the Art of "Concealment" - by Yen Tung-sheng and Ma Pao-ying

On the New Discovery of Shattered Pages of Ching Pen Chung I Ch'uan - by Ku T'ing-lung and Shen Chin, Shanghai Library

Use Class Struggle As the Key Link and Do Well in All Kinds of Work

Increase Steel Output by Grasping the Key Link, Work Vigorously and Fast - by Workers Theoretical Group of Shanghai Steel Mill No. 5

Serve the People

Commercial Work Must Strive To Serve Workers, Peasants and Soldiers - by Tai Ch'üan

A People's Restaurant Serves the People - by Hsü K'un and Wu Tsung-ying

Take the Stand of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, and Service Knows No Bounds - by CCP Committee of Shanghai First Department Store

Replacing a Missing Chessman - by Wan Shao-yüan

30 Thousands and 30 Million - by Li Kuan-liang

The Cultural Front

Strive To Project Heroic Images on the Screen--Notes on seeing the film Second Spring - by Shih Ch'uan

Read Poetry and Make Comments - by Hsü Chi-hsi

It Isn't a Small Thing - by Ch'en Ta-k'ang

Book Review: "A Thunderstorm Blows Across 20,000 Li"--Comment on Talks on History of Confucian-Legalist Struggle - by Huang Lin

Study Modern History

Song of Triumph for Unity in Battle - by Wu Yün-hsiang SPRCM No. 858

Notes on Wang Ching-wei's Betrayal of the Country (Part I) - by Shih Feng

An Eye-Witness Account of Western China - by Chin Sheng-hsi

Index of 1975 Tables of Contents

* * *

Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 5,

October 20, 1975

Table of Contents

Lu Hsün's Comment on Water Margin

Use Water Margin To Recognize Capitulationists
- by Hung Kuang-szu

Why Does Water Margin Project Sung Chiang in This Way?
- by Pai Ch'ing

Opposing Corrupt Officials But Not the Emperor Can Only Lead to Capitulation - by Shih Yen

"Carrying Out the Wish of Heaven" Is Reaction Against Peasant Movement - by Shih Yüan-hua, Ma Chün-min and Han Ming-hua, students of Department of History, Futan University; and Hu Shen-sheng, Shanghai Gear Plant

An Analysis of "Shortcut to Officialdom" - by Wen Chün

The Chinese Communist Party Is the Leader in the War of Resistance Against Japan - by K'o Shih — SPRCM No. 850

Recall the Revolutionary Deeds of the Central Red Army in Southern Szechwna During the Long March
- by I Chün — SPRCM No. 858

The Chinsha River Flows On and the Rocks Are Warm--
Notes on the deeds of the Central Red Army in observing discipline and cherishing the people during its crossing over the Chinsha River
- by Cheng Hsüan, Ch'uhsiung Military Sub-District, Yunnan Province

A Brief Discussion of the Revolutionary Program of the Chung Hsiang and Yang Mo Peasant Uprising
- by Sung History Study Groups of Kaifeng Parmaceutical Plant and Kaifeng Normal College

"Changes in Farm Tenancy" and "Changes in Slavery" in South China During Late Ming - by Fu I-ling

The Yangwu Movement and the Slavish Comprador Philosophy - by Hsiang Hsiao — SPRCM No. 850

Comemnt on the Confucian Teaching Society - by Hsia Liang-ts'ai, Wang Hsüeh-chuang and Lü Ching-lin

A Live Specimen of Great Russian Chauvinism - by Sung Pin — SPRCM No. 850

A Shameless Betrayal - by Shih Lan — SPRCM No. 855

Tsarist Russia and the Two International Peace Conferences at the Haigue - by Shih Li-so

The Napoleonic Empire Was the Last Stage of the French Bourgeois Revolution - by Li Yüan-ming

"Napoleonic Code" and the Consolidation and Development of Capitalist Ownership in France - by Hsüeh Shih
Liaoning University

Talks on China's Ancient History

The Fourth Talk: The Establishment and Consolidation of Unifed Feudal States of Centralized Power--Ch'in and Western Han

- by Workers Theoretical Group of Nank'ou Locomotive and Rolling Stock Building Plant of the Ministry of Railways, and the Chinese Ancient History Teaching Research Group of Department of History of Peking University

* * *

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
Springfield, Va. 22161

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED MATTER

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COM-211

CMP X761231 001
UNIV ILLINOIS LIB AT CHICAGO CIRCLE
LIB SERIALS SEC
BOX 8198
CHICAGO IL 60680